

Hadden's journal and orderly books

James Murray
Hadden, Baron
Guy Carleton ...

Harvard College Library



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Munsell's
Historical Series.
No. 12.



March 4.th 1776. I embarked on board
an Ordnance Transport, destined for
Quebec, and lost sight of England
May 2nd 1776.

After a pleasant passage I arrived
on the Coast of America and discovered
Land the 26.th June, and on the 12th July
landed at Quebec.

The 13.th July I disembarked the
Light Artillery, &c. and putting them
on board Batheaux's, with the Detach-
ment proceeded up the St. Lawrence.
In Lake St. Pierre, we met with such
violent weather as to oblige us to run
the Batheaux's on the Lee Shore, where

① Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books.

A

JOURNAL KEPT IN CANADA

AND

UPON BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

IN 1776 AND 1777, BY

LIEUT. JAMES M. HADDEN, ROY. ART.

ALSO

Orders kept by him and issued by SIR GUY CARLETON, LIEUT.

GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE and MAJOR GENERAL

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, in 1776, 1777 and 1778.

WITH AN EXPLANATORY CHAPTER AND NOTES BY

HORATIO ROGERS,

*Brevet Brigadier General U. S. V., and formerly Colonel Second Rhode Island
Infantry; Member of the American Antiquarian Society, and
Author of Private Libraries of Providence.*



ALBANY, N. Y.

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1884, May 23,

Bright Fund.



TO

William L. Stone,

the enthusiastic Burgoyne-student,

but for whose unfailing interest and urgent
zeal this volume would probably never
have been published, the work, now
completed, and in print, is affec-
tionately dedicated by his
old College friend,
the Editor.

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ERRATA.

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- lii. *For John Watson Powell, read Henry Watson Powell.*
- 367. *For 3d Earl of Chesterfield, read 4th Earl of Chesterfield.*
- 468. *For 113th, or Royal Highland Volunteers, read 113th, or Royal Highlanders.*



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PREFACE.

A knowledge of the British, no less than of the American participants in Burgoyne's campaign, being necessary to the proper understanding of that great event, has led me to investigate the *personnel* of Burgoyne's army, and to annotate the text far more fully than had, at first, been intended. No reference in the notes has been made to characters like Stark, Schuyler, Heath, Warner, Morgan, Lord Stirling, etc., as they are presumed to be familiar to the American reader; and though Dr. O'Callaghan, in Burgoyne's Orderly Book, has sketched, with more or less fullness, some of the British officers annotated in the following pages, yet, in nearly, if not quite, every instance, some facts have been added to those the Doctor has given; hence, for completeness, notes on such personages have not been excluded from this volume. So little is known of Burgoyne's Canadian and Provincial officers, and especially of the leader of Burgoyne's Indians, that no pains have been spared to glean all possible information in regard to them. Notwith-

standing much has been written relating to Burgoyne, yet no biographer has been sufficiently precise to give the exact date of his birth, or to inform us of the facts on which rests the scandal in regard to his parentage, so that the reader can judge for himself of the merits of the case. The looseness which has characterized other portions of the various memoirs of this officer's life and character, accounts for so full a sketch of Burgoyne in the notes. As various writers have confused bearers of the same name with some of Burgoyne's officers, brief sketches of a number of such contemporaries have been given, in order to aid, as far as may be, in obviating such confusion hereafter.

Though writing of Englishmen, and others, engaged in a cause in which my proclivities are all against them, as my grandfather and one of his brothers were officers in the Rhode Island Line, and another brother was a brigade chaplain in the Pennsylvania Line, on the patriot side during the Revolutionary War, yet I have striven to write as one without prejudice, both in stating facts without coloring, and in drawing conclusions without improper bias.

If I have gone too much into artillery details, it must be borne in mind that Lieut. Hadden was an artillery officer ; and, it may be, the fact that I served as first-lieutenant, captain, and major, in the Third Rhode Island Heavy Artillery during the early years of our late civil war, has whetted my interest in such matters to a degree not shared by the majority of readers. My aim has been, editorially, to write for historical students, more than for the general reader ; hence no dates and no precision of statement of any fact have been omitted, merely to add to rhetorical effect.

The Orders, contained in the latter part of this work, reflect much light upon Burgoyne's campaign, and, consequently, upon Hadden's Journal ; since Orders issued in 1776, in regard to the formation and regulations of the army in Canada, applied very largely to the troops under Burgoyne the next year.

Calendars for the years 1776 and 1777, have been inserted in the introductory matter, so that readers desiring to refer to them, may readily do so ; the table of 'Contents' showing exactly where they may be found.

Save in a very few cases, I have made no reference in the notes to the topography of the

country, as others personally familiar with it, have fully and clearly explained it ; far more so, than I could hope to do.

The authorities for the editor's work have been intended to be given as fully as possible, as, in historical writing, the importance of furnishing them is thoroughly realized ; and if, in any case, it shall be found that they have been omitted, it is due solely to oversight, as some of the notes were originally written without noting the authorities at the time, thus necessitating their subsequent addition. Where the authorities for a note are few, or where they are so intermingled that it would be well nigh impossible to refer to them accurately, save in mass, they have been inserted at the end without special reference to them in the body of the note. To save space and expense the name of every volume of authority referred to, has been lettered in the table of 'Authorities,' and subsequent references are to the letters, and not to the name of the volume ; the table of 'Authorities' serving as a key. As but comparatively few readers will care for the authorities, while those who do, will care for them very much, and as the notes have expanded far beyond the bounds originally set for them,

making it necessary to resort to some method to keep the volume within reasonable limits, it is hoped that this device for economizing space will cause but little inconvenience.

I return my heartiest thanks to Mr. William L. Stone, of Jersey City, for his unfailing interest in this work, as well as for much valuable aid and counsel. I am also under obligations to Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, and Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York; Hon. Winslow C. Watson, of Port Kent, N. Y.; Dr. A. W. Holden, of Glens Falls, N. Y.; J. M. Le Moine, Esq., President of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Quebec; Major L. A. Huguet-Latour, and the Abbé Verreau of Montreal; and the Abbé Tanguay, of Ottawa, Canada. For the use of valuable manuscripts I am indebted to many parties; and especially to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the Heath Papers, and the Military Papers of Capt. Moses Greenleaf; to the New York Historical Society, for the Gates Papers; to the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Massachusetts, for various Order and Letter Books; and to the Department of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada, for the Haldimand Papers. In this latter connection

I cannot refrain from referring to the unwearied zeal and unfailing courtesy of Mr. Douglas Brymner, of Ottawa, the Archivist of the Dominion of Canada, in affording me the fullest and most satisfactory use of the Haldimand Papers, and the other manuscripts confided to his charge. Would that all public officials in custody of valuable manuscripts, might take a lesson from him. To these and to various others, too numerous to mention, who have been of service to me in preparing this work, I return my most grateful acknowledgments. It would, indeed, be an omission, not to specially commend the typographical excellence displayed by the Messrs. Munsell in this work;—surely, none of its faults can justly be attributed to them.

The limits of an ordinary preface are far too circumscribed to admit of many matters it has seemed desirable to advert to, in editing a work of this character; hence the reader is referred to *An Explanatory Chapter, by the Editor*, for information, that, but for the space it requires, would have been included in the so-called preface.

H. R.

Providence, R. I., March 31st, 1884.

CALENDAR FOR 1776.

JANUARY.							FEBRUARY.							MARCH.						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
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CALENDAR FOR 1777.

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AN EXPLANATORY CHAPTER,

BY THE EDITOR.

On the 10th of August, 1875, the editor purchased of Mr. J. W. Bouton, the well known bookseller of New York, two morocco book formed cases, which had just been received by him from Mr. Henry Stevens, of London. They were nearly eight inches high, about five inches wide, and contained eight pocket memorandum books, two of which were a manuscript journal kept by Lieut. James M. Hadden of the Royal Artillery, from his embarkation for Canada, March 4, 1776, to the close of the battle of Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19, 1777; Lieut. Hadden having served under Gen. Carleton in Canada in 1776, and participated in Burgoyne's campaign the following year. The other six memorandum books were filled with copies of orders issued during 1776, 1777, and the early part of 1778. Inside the cover of one of the journal volumes Mr. Stevens has written a few lines of description, and, after noting what they are, he goes on as follows :—

“I bought them in 1873 of Hall Pringle, Esq.,
34 Bessborough Gardens, Pimlico, London, to-

gether with 6 MS. Orderly Books, 1776-1777, kept by the same Capt. Hadden. These 8 volumes were formerly in the possession of Wm. Cobbett.

HENRY STEVENS

4 Trafalgar Square, London
Aug. 12, 1874."

Immediately upon acquiring these volumes the editor addressed a note to Hall Pringle Esq., asking for any information he might be able to afford in regard to them, or their former ownership; but the enquiry failed to elicit a reply. The journal contains inherent proof of its authenticity, and it is here printed in full, with its maps, *just as it is*, without any misleading, so called emendations or corrections, in order that the reader may have the full benefit of his own conclusions as to what manner of man Lieut. Hadden was, so far, at least, as can be deduced from his work.

The handwriting of the journal, a page of which, reproduced in fac-simile, serves as the frontispiece for this volume, corresponds exactly with Lieut. Hadden's signature to the Cambridge Parole. All cuts and maps to be found in this volume, are fac-similes of the drawings and maps contained in Lieut. Hadden's journal.

Though the Orderly Books are not in Lieut. Hadden's writing, yet they have corrections by

him, and, from their contents, it is clear that they were copied by an orderly sergeant or a company clerk for the use of an artillery officer. They are respectively entitled on the covers: "*Orders, Canada, 1776, Part 1.*" Same, "*Part 2.*" "*Orders, America, 1777.*" "*Extracts from General Orders in Canada by Sir Guy Carleton, General Burgoyne &c in 1776 and 1777: Also Orders after the Convention in New England.*" Two are duplicates, and are entitled "*Extracts from the Brigade Orders of Major General Phillips in Canada &c,*" but the orders therein are not confined to Canada, as some of them were issued upon Burgoyne's campaign. All the orders contained in these Orderly Books are not printed in this volume, but only those that are not to be found in Burgoyne's Orderly Book ^a, or are not to be found there entire.

As this work will chiefly, if not solely, interest the historical student, much care has been taken to give the reader detailed information to enable him to judge of its genuineness, and its value as a contribution to history. The greater pains has been taken in this respect, because Burgoyne's Orderly Book purports to have been "printed from the original manuscript deposited at Washington's

^a. Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, from his entry into the State of New York until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct., 1777. From the original manuscript deposited at Washington's Head-Quarters, Newburgh, N. Y. Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. Albany. J. Munsell, 1860.

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, N. Y.;" ^b whereas a comparison of the Hadden orders with those contained in Burgoyne's Orderly Book, satisfied the editor of this volume that that work was not only *not* printed from the original manuscript, but was printed from an extremely defective copy of it; a conclusion strongly confirmed by a critical examination of the so called "original manuscript" itself. The alleged "original manuscript" has more or less words and phrases stricken out and others interlined, just such errors as an inexperienced copyist would be liable to make, and presents a general appearance that at once raises in the mind a question of its genuineness; unless, indeed, Burgoyne's Adjutant-General's office was incompetently conducted,—a presumption entirely without proof, and which Major Kingston's experience and reputation would seem to forbid. As the general, or his adjutant-general under his direction, composed the orders which were carefully copied into the Orderly Book by a clerk for preservation and reference, an Headquarters Orderly Book would present a neat and precise appearance. The following extracts from Major James' Military Dictionary, show clearly the mode of proceeding

^b Mr. E. M. Ruttenber, in referring to the manuscript Burgoyne Orderly Book, No. 53, page 27, of his "Catalogue of Manuscripts and Relics in Washington's Head-Quarters, Newburgh, N. Y., with Historical Sketch prepared for the Trustees, under Act of May 11, 1874," says:—"This is the Original Order Book."

in issuing orders and multiplying copies of them in the British army a hundred years ago. "General Orders," he says, "are such as are issued out by the general who commands, who gives them in writing to the adjutant-general, who first sends exact copies to the general officers of the day, and distributes them at his own quarters to all the brigade-majors, who daily go to headquarters for that purpose, where they write down everything that is dictated to them: from thence they go and give the *orders*, at the place appointed for that purpose, to the different majors or adjutants of the regiments which compose that brigade, who first read them to their colonels and lieutenant-colonels, or majors, and then dictate them to the serjeants of companies. This is more frequently done by the serjeant-major. The different serjeants write them correctly down in their respective orderly-books, and bring them to all the officers belonging to the company. * * *

"ORDERLY *non-commissioned officers*, are those who are orderly, or on duty for the week; who, on hearing the drum beat for orders, are to repair to the place appointed to receive them, and to take down in writing, in the orderly book, what is dictated by the adjutant or serjeant-major; they are then immediately to show those orders to the officers of the company, and afterwards warn the men for duty.

"ORDERLY-book. Every company has such a book in which the serjeants write down both general and regimental orders for the specific information of the officers and men. This book is provided and paid for by the captains of companies."

Then, too, in the printed Burgoyne's Orderly Book are parts of orders, that are not to be found in the "original manuscript" at all, but which have been taken verbatim and unacknowledged, from a work published in London, in 1780, entitled "A Supplement to the State of the Expedition from Canada, containing General Burgoyne's Orders, respecting the principal movements and operations of the army to the raising of the siege of Ticonderoga." For illustration of this the reader is referred to the order herein-after contained, dated Aug. 18, 1777, and to that dated Oct 3, of the same year. The omissions, likewise, in the Burgoyne's Orderly Book supplied by the Hadden Orderly Books, do not speak well for an "original manuscript." In the regular course of procedure, as shown by James, there must have been a considerable number of Orderly Books made by different officers for Burgoyne's army, and the copy at Washington's Headquarters was, doubtless, one of them; but the *original* manuscript, or *original* orderly book, was the one kept in the office of Burgoyne's adjutant-general, and we hazard nothing in saying

that the manuscript orderly book at Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, is not that original one. Mr. E. M. Ruttenber, of Newburgh, informed the editor that the Burgoyne's Orderly Book at Washington's Headquarters, formerly belonged to Gen. James Clinton, who lived and died at Little Britain, about eight miles from Newburgh, N. Y. After his death his books and papers passed to his son, James G. Clinton, in whose hands they remained until his death, when they were temporarily removed to the residence of a friend. They subsequently went to James Clinton Bolton, a grandson of Gen. James Clinton, by whom they were presented, with a number of other papers, to Washington's Headquarters.

James Murray Hadden, the writer of the journal alluded to, was a son of Capt. John Hadden of the Royal Marines.¹ He entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, April 2, 1771, and was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery Jan. 26, 1774, and assigned to the Second Battalion, then serving at Gibraltar and Minorca.² While holding this rank he embarked at England, in a government transport, for Quebec, March 4, 1776, and landed at his place of destination on the 12th of July following. In Oct. of that year, he had command of a gunboat on Lake Champlain in the naval affair which ended

in the destruction of the greater part of Gen. Benedict Arnold's flotilla. The next spring he participated in Burgoyne's campaign. When the army arrived at Ticonderoga he and three non-commissioned officers and thirty men were detached from Capt. Borthwick's company, and with this detachment he served throughout the campaign; the remainder of the company, with Capt. Borthwick and First Lieut. Barnes, being left at Ticonderoga to do garrison duty. July 26th, Lieut. Hadden with his detachment, together with the rest of the artillery, and an infantry force under Lieut.-Col. Anstruther of the 62d Foot, were dispatched to capture Fort George,—a task easily accomplished, as the Americans abandoned it at the approach of the British. July 30th, Lieut. Hadden, with his detachment, was ordered to join Capt. Thomas Jones' company in the Right Wing of the army, and to this company he was attached during the rest of the campaign. At the battle of Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19th, Lieut. Hadden fired the first shot from the main body of the British army; and, during the early part of that bloody action, his detachment served two guns on the left of the 62d Regiment. Of twenty-two artillerists under him, nineteen were shortly either killed or wounded, and while he was applying to Gen. Hamilton for a supply of infantry to work his guns, his cap was shot through at the front.

Being referred to Gen. Phillips he obtained a reinforcement, with Capt. Jones to aid him ; but the captain soon fell mortally wounded into his arms, all the reinforcement were killed or wounded, and the Americans swept over the ground and captured the guns,—Lieut. Hadden narrowly escaping being taken a prisoner. Later in the day the guns were re-captured.⁴ Capt. Jones, and Lieuts. Hadden and Reid, of this company, were handsomely mentioned in Gen. Phillips' official report of the artillery's share in the engagement.⁵ These details have, for the most part, been gathered from Lieut. Hadden's own narrative.

Though the reason of his journal's terminating with the account of the battle of Freeman's Farm, is unknown to us, yet it is highly probable that the press of duties devolving upon him by the death of his captain, he being the ranking subaltern in the company, prevented its further continuance. Lieut. Hadden became a prisoner at the surrender at Saratoga, and his name is attached to the Cambridge Parole. When he was exchanged is unknown, except that it must have been before the the close of 1781, as his name is found in Gaine's Universal Register for 1782, page 113, in the Brigade of Artillery under Sir Henry Clinton.

He became a 1st lieutenant in the artillery July 7, 1779, and adjutant of the First Battalion

April 4, 1783, his successor having been appointed March 15, 1793. He was promoted to be a captain-lieutenant, March 7, 1784, and a captain Aug. 15, 1793¹, his being No. 1 company, 2d Battalion, now "7" Battery, 21st Brigade. The Royal Horse Artillery was formed in 1793, Troops A and B having been ordered in January of that year, and Troops C and D in the following November, and Capt. Hadden was appointed to Troop D.⁶ As the Horse Artillery was officered with great care, the selection of Capt. Hadden for the command of a troop in it, speaks well for his merit. He was also during the year 1793, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁷, selected by the Duke of Richmond, then Master-General of the Ordnance, as his secretary. He became a major in the army March 1, 1794², and about this time, or a little later, he served on the home staff, as his successor as brigade major-general to the forces in the Southern District, under the command of Sir Charles Grey, was gazetted Sept. 10, 1796.⁸ He received the local rank of lieutenant-colonel in Portugal only, Nov. 30, 1796, and he became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, April 9, 1797. There seems to be some confusion in regard to the record of his appointments about this time. The last two dates are from the Army Lists, which are, of course, the highest authority. Kane, in his Artillery List, states,—“He was

brevetted Lieut.-Colonel 9 Apr. 1797, out of the regular course of succession, as Deputy Quarter Master General to the Forces ;" and the *London Gazette*, under date of Sept. 5, 1797, gives the promotion of "Major James Hadden, of the royal artillery, to be adjutant general to the army serving in Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Sir James St. Clair Erskine, resigned." He was certainly adjutant-general in Portugal, but exactly when, or for how long, is not perfectly clear.

His subsequent promotions were as follows :—major in the artillery Aug. 1, 1800 ; lieutenant-colonel therein, Oct. 14, 1801 ; colonel in the army Oct. 30, 1805 ; in the artillery June 1, 1806 ; and major-general June 4, 1811. From June 16, 1801, to Nov. 8, 1804, he served as secretary to the Master-General of the Ordnance ; and from July 5, 1804, to July 3, 1810, as Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.⁴ He died at Harpenden Oct. 28, 1817.⁷ He must have been an officer of great merit, or he would never have received the several staff appointments he held, at a time too, when Capt. Duncan tells us, "it was too often made a great favor on the part of the Master-General to allow officers" (of the Royal Artillery) "to be so employed." When he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance—the third officer in rank in that important department—he

was only a lieutenant-colonel, and he succeeded a lieutenant-general.

Though sketches of those referred to in the Journal and Orders, will be given in foot notes, or the appendix, yet a brief comprehensive view of the *personnel* of Burgoyne's officers, indicating the character and composition of his army, may not be without interest. When it is considered that, even at the outset, Burgoyne's whole force, including the sick, did not exceed 8,000 men, only about half of whom were British regulars, it must be admitted that rarely has so brilliant an array of British officers been marshalled under one commander, as that which followed Burgoyne across Champlain, on his memorable expedition of 1777. Among them were several English and Scotch lords ^c, four members of the House of Commons ^d, and upwards of thirty, not in-

c. These were :—

1. Charles Stanhope, Viscount Petersham, who was a captain in the 29th Foot. He was only a titular Viscount, as his father was still living. Earls eldest sons bear a viscountcy by courtesy, and, like the eldest sons of Dukes and Marquises, take one, or other, of the various secondary titles which their fathers enjoy; and, in general, assume that which is next in degree to the highest, except in cases where the first and second, though of different degrees in the peerage, are identical in name.¹ Thus Charles Stanhope's father was Earl of Harrington, Viscount Petersham, and Baron Harrington; and Charles, therefore, took by courtesy, the title of Viscount Petersham.

2. Alexander Lindsay, Earl of Balcarres, a Scotch peer, who was the major of the 53d Foot.

3. James Sandilands, Lord Torpichen, a Scotch Baron, who was a second lieutenant in the 21st Foot, or Royal North British Fusiliers.

4. Francis Napier, Lord Napier, a Scotch Baron, who was a lieutenant in the 31st Foot.² [¹C. Y. 202-206. ²A. S. B. H.]

d. These were :—

1st. Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne, M.P. for Preston, in Lancaster.

2d. Maj.-Gen. William Phillips, M.P. for Boroughbridge, in York.

3d. Major John Dyke Acland, M.P. for Callington, in Cornwall.

cluding the Germans, who subsequently became general officers.^e

4th. Captain, the Viscount Petersham, M.P. for Westminster, in Middlesex.

As none of the Scotch Lords with Burgoyne were representative peers, in 1777, they then, of course, had no seats in the House of Lords. Wilkinson is mistaken, in his *Memoirs*, when, in speaking of Sir Francis Carr Clerke, he says, "Sir Francis * * was, I think, a member of Parliament." Sir Francis never had a seat in Parliament, though there was a Sir Phillip Jennings Clerke in the House of Commons in 1777, as well as prior and subsequent thereto.

The Rev. Dr. William Gordon in the second volume of his *History of the American War*, page 578, says,— "Among the prisoners taken were six members of Parliament." As Gordon's *History* was published in 1788, many writers have since followed his statement. Gordon, however, it is believed, is in error, as there is a contemporaneous paper, to be found in the New Hampshire State Papers, vol. 8, page

708, entitled, "Account of the British army under the command of Gen'l Burgoin, who was entirely defeated by our brave Americans," which is supposed to have been forwarded or presented by Col. Langdon to the New Hampshire authorities, the very first item of which is as follows, viz:—"General Burgoyne and staff, among which were four members of Parliament."

The editor of this work, after a diligent search of various authorities, is unable to find more than the four M.P.'s enumerated at the beginning of this note; though a number of Burgoyne's officers were subsequently members. In 1777 there were several members, bearing the names of some of Burgoyne's officers, but they were, nevertheless, not those officers, if the notes to Beatson's *Chronological Register* are reliable authority, as they are believed to be. [A. N. 59, 60, 132, 150, 320.]

^e. The following list of officers on Burgoyne's campaign, who became general officers in the British army, gives the rank they held at the beginning of that campaign, and the date of their promotion as general officers in the highest grade they attained. The regimental figures in all cases refer to regiments of foot, unless otherwise stated.

GENERALS.

Henry Watson Powell, Lt.-Col. 53d, and Brig.-General,	Jan. 1, 1801.
James Hamilton, Lt.-Col. 21st, and Brig.-General,	April 29, 1802.
Earl of Balcarres, Major 53d,	Sept. 25, 1803.
Earl of Harrington	
[Lord Petersham], Capt. 29th, and A. D. C.,	Sept. 25, 1803.
William Shirreff, Capt. 47th,	Sept. 25, 1803.
Gordon Forbes, Major 9th,	Jan. 1, 1812.
Paulus Æmilius Irving, Major 47th,	Jan. 1, 1812.
Ellis Walker, Capt. Royal Artillery,	Jan. 1, 1812.
William Maxwell, Capt. 20th,	Jan. 1, 1812.
James Henry Craig, Capt. 47th,	Jan. 1, 1812.
Alexander Campbell, Capt. 62d,	Jan. 1, 1812.
John Monry, Capt. 9th, and Dep. Q'r Master General,	June 4, 1814.

xlvi *Explanatory Chapter.*

Burgoyne himself was a polished gentleman of good family. He was connected with the aristocracy, having married a daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby. He was an ambitious writer, and a popular dramatist. He was an effective speaker, and had taken an active part in the House of Commons, of which he was then a member. He was, withal, a gallant cavalry commander that had seen service, and, by a bold and successful dash in Portugal, had won much

John A. Harris,	Capt. 34th,	June 4, 1814.
Richard Rich Wilford,	Lieut. 2d, and A. D. C.,	June 4, 1814.
Charles Green,	Capt. 31st, and A. D. C.,	Aug. 12, 1819.
Thomas Blomfield,	Capt.-Lieut. Royal Artillery,	Jan. 19, 1821.
William Twiss,	Lieut. Royal Engineers,	May 27, 1825.
Quin John Freeman,	Ensign 24th,	July 22, 1830.

LIEUTENANT GENERALS.

John Burgoyne,	Col. 16th Dragoons, Maj. Gen. in the army and Lieut.-Gen. in America,	Aug. 29, 1777.
Richard England,	Capt. 47th,	Sept. 25, 1803.
William Borthwick,	Capt. Royal Artillery,	Jan. 1, 1805.
Gonville Bromhead,	Lieut. 62d,	June 4, 1813.
William Buchanan,	Ensign 47th,	June 4, 1814.
Daniel O'Meara,	Lieut. 20th,	Aug. 12, 1819.
William Doyle,	Lieut. 24th,	Aug. 12, 1819.
Edward Howarth,	2d Lieut. Royal Artillery,	Aug. 12, 1819.
Samuel Rimington,	2d Lieut. Royal Artillery,	July 19, 1821.

MAJOR GENERALS.

William Phillips,	Major Royal Artillery. Colonel in the army, and Maj. Gen. in America,	Aug. 29, 1779.
Mackay Hugh Baillie.	Lieut. 20th,	Jan. 1, 1798.
John Barnes,	1st Lieut. Royal Artillery,	Oct. 25, 1809.
John Keymis,	Lieut. 9th,	June 4, 1811.
James M. Hadden,	2d Lieut. Royal Artillery,	June 4, 1811.
Robert Kingston,	Capt. of Invalids, Maj. in the army, and Dep. Adj. Gen.,	June 4, 1814.

It is, by no means, improbable that some of Burgoyne's officers who attained the rank of major-general, or higher, have been omitted in the preceding lists. [B. H. A. T. 118 *et passim* : F. O.]

prestige. Such a leader naturally attracted a brilliant staff. His adjutant-general was afterwards a major-general; and his quarter-master general, Capt. John Money, and one of his aids, Lieut. Richard Rich Wilford *J.*, subsequently became generals in the army, the latter likewise becoming an aid-de-camp to the king. His secretary, Capt. Sir Francis Carr Clerke, was a baronet who was esteemed one of the most promising young officers in the service, and who proved his heroism with his life, which he lost at the battle of Bemus' Heights. His supernumerary aid-de-camp, Capt. Charles Stanhope, Viscount Petersham, afterwards the third Earl of Harrington, had, in his veins, "noble blood enough to have inoculated half the king-

J. Richard Rich Wilford entered the British army Oct. 4, 1770, as an ensign in the 2d, or Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot, which was then stationed at Gibraltar; and he was promoted to a lieutenancy Dec. 16, 1771. He accompanied Burgoyne, as an aid-de-camp, to America, in 1775, 1776 and 1777, returning with him to England, the first two years, to spend the winter. He served throughout Burgoyne's campaign; shared in his surrender; and signed the Cambridge parole. He was advanced to a captaincy in the 2d Foot March 26, 1778; exchanged into the 9th Dragoons Aug. 20, 1782; and became major of the 3d Horse, or Carabineers, in Ireland, May 6, 1783; which latter regiment subsequently became the 6th Dragoon Guards. Oct. 31, 1789, he was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 8th, or the King's Royal Irish Regiment

of Light Dragoons; and April 2, 1794, he exchanged into the 3d, or Prince of Wales' Regiment of Dragoon Guards. He became a colonel in the army, and aid-de-camp to the king, Feb. 26, 1795; and a brigadier in the West Indies only, on the 3d of the following September. He was commissioned colonel of the York Hussars, a newly raised regiment of light dragoons, July 1, 1796, and he became a major-general Jan. 1, 1798. His regiment was reduced in 1802, when he went upon half-pay, but returned to active service again April 2, 1804, as the colonel of the 25th (Light) Dragoons. He became a lieut. general Jan. 1, 1805; the colonel of the 7th (or Princess Royal's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards, Nov. 20, 1813; a general June 4, 1814; and he died in Dec., 1822. [B. H: A. T. 155: C. V. 367.]

dom." He was a kinsman of the celebrated Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield. Both his father and his grandfather had been generals in the army. His grandfather, the first Earl of Harrington, had likewise been Lord President of the Council, Secretary of State twice, Viceroy of Ireland, and had filled several important diplomatic positions. Through his mother, who was the eldest daughter of the second Duke of Grafton, he was directly descended from royalty, as his great grandfather, the first Duke of Grafton, was an illegitimate son of Charles II, by the Duchess of Cleveland. Though his lineage doubtless gained him many honors, he seems to have deserved them, and he became a general in the army, and the colonel of the First Regiment of Life Guards, besides holding with credit, many distinguished civil and military positions.

Burgoyne's second in command, Major General William Phillips, of the Royal Artillery, was likewise at this time a member of Parliament. As a soldier he had had much experience and had won high distinction in Germany. He rendered conspicuous service at the famous battle of Minden, in 1759, where he commanded the British artillery. At Warberg, the next year, he astounded every one by bringing up the artillery on a gallop at a critical moment, which then seemed,—so unwieldy was the movement of ar-

tillery in the field during the Seven Years War,—about as remarkable as transporting artillery in balloons would now appear. Gen. Phillips' staff was little less distinguished than that of his chief. His aid-de-camp, Capt. Charles Green^{9 10}, and his chief engineer, Lieut. William Twiss, both became generals, the former likewise winning a baronetcy by his meritorious services. His major of brigade, Capt. Thomas Blomefield of the Royal Artillery, afterwards became a lieutenant-general in the army, and, in 1807, commanded the artillery at the siege and capture of Copenhagen, for which he was thanked by both Houses of Parliament, and created a baronet.

Burgoyne's Brigadiers were tried and experienced soldiers. Simon Fraser, the lieutenant-colonel of the 24th Foot, who commanded the Advance, or Light, Brigade, was an object of admiration to Burgoyne's whole army. At the battle of Bemus' Heights, on the 7th of October, so conspicuously efficient was he in inspiring the British troops, that the Americans deemed his death necessary for victory, and he soon fell mortally wounded, the victim of one of Morgan's sharpshooters. Burgoyne said of the deceased general—"As a soldier I avow a pride in having possessed Brigadier Fraser's esteem. * * * Devoted to glory and prodigal of life, earnest for the general success of the campaign, and particularly anxious for every plan adopted by the

man he loved, he grudged a danger or care in other hands than his own." James Hamilton, the lieutenant-colonel of the 21st, or Royal North British Fusiliers, who commanded the First Brigade, and John Watson Powell, the lieutenant-colonel of the 53d, who commanded the Second Brigade, had both been soldiers for more than twenty years, and both afterwards became generals in the army. As the latter was posted at Ticonderoga at the time of Burgoyne's surrender, he escaped the fate of his chief.

The Earl of Balcarres, who commanded the light infantry companies in Fraser's Brigade, succeeded to the command of that brigade, and also to the dead Fraser's regimental rank. He likewise became a distinguished soldier, attained the rank of general in the army, and for thirty years had a seat in the House of Lords as one of the representative peers of Scotland.

Major John Dyke Acland, a member of Parliament, who commanded the grenadiers in the Light Brigade, was the eldest son of a baronet who traced his lineage back, it is said, to the middle of the twelfth century. His wife, the third daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester, and one of the most romantic figures in our Revolutionary struggle, accompanied him on his campaign. The grenadiers were well commanded for desperate fighting, and their valor is illus-

trated by a sentence from Wilkinson, who was an eye witness, and who, in writing of the battle of Bemus' Heights, says—"In the square space of twelve or fifteen yards lay eighteen grenadiers in the agonies of death, and three officers propped up against stumps of trees, two of them mortally wounded, bleeding, and almost speechless." One of these officers was Major Acland, who was twice wounded on Burgoyne's campaign, and who, on being paroled the following winter, returned to England, with a shattered constitution, to linger for a few months, for he died before the close of 1778, and thus prematurely closed what, had life been prolonged, could hardly have failed to have been a brilliant career.⁷

g. The family of Acland is of great antiquity. Major John Dyke Acland was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Acland, Bart., by his wife, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Thomas Dyke, Esq., of Tetton, in Somersetshire.¹ He was born February 21, 1747,² and entered the British army as an ensign in the 33d Foot, March 23, 1774. He purchased speedy promotion, for, being allowed to jump the grade of lieutenant, he was advanced to a captaincy in the 33d, March 23d, 1775, and to the majority of the 20th Foot, on the 16th of the following December.³ In 1771, he married Christian Harriet Caroline Fox Strangways, third daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester; the Earl, whose family surname was Fox, having, in pursuance of a deed of settlement on his marriage with the heiress of the Strangways, assumed their name and arms.⁴

Major Acland accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776,

where Sir Guy Carleton, on the 6th of June, appointed him to command the grenadiers.⁵ He served that year in Canada, and participated in Burgoyne's campaign the following year. Commanding the grenadiers he was ever in the advance, and was wounded at the battle of Hubbardton, having been shot in the thigh; and, again, at Bemus' Heights, where he was shot through the thick part of both legs, and taken prisoner.⁶⁻⁷

Lady Harriet Acland, who was born January 3d, 1750, accompanied her husband to America; and many interesting details about the major and his wife are to be found in the State of the Expedition, Wilkinson's Memoirs, Lamb's Journal of the American War, Mrs. General Riedesel's Journal and Letters, and in two very entertaining articles entitled respectively, "Lady and Major Acland," in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1880, and "Lady

Capt. Alexander Fraser, a nephew of Brigadier General Fraser, commanded the British sharpshooters, which Burgoyne denominates "the select light corps of the army, composed of chosen men from all the regiments, and commanded by Captain Fraser, one of the most distinguished officers in his line of service that ever I met with."

Harriet Acland," in *Lippincott's Magazine* for Oct., 1879, both from the pen of Mr. William L. Stone. Lady Harriet had a brother, the Hon. Stephen Digby Strangways, who was a captain in the 24th, and was wounded October 7, 1777, in the same action in which her husband was wounded.⁸

Gen. Gates thus wrote to Gen. Putnam, as appears by a draft of a letter found among the Gates Papers:—

"ALBANY, 23d Decem: 1777.

"DEAR SIR: I have Granted a pass to Major Ackland, and His Lady The Honourable Lady Harriet Ackland, with their servants to go into New York, convinced it will be for the Interest of the United States that they should be permitted to go there in their way to England, with all convenient Expedition. The Major, who in the strictest sense of that Character, is a Man of Honour, has promised me to use his utmost endeavours to procure the Enlargement of Col. Ethan Allen, in return for the Indulgence I now grant Him, and his Family. The particular situation of the Honourable Lady Ackland, makes the Major the more desirous of immediately getting into New York as soon as possible. That Favour to Her Ladyship at this Critical Juncture will the more enhance the Obligation, and be the strongest inducement to The Major to exert all his Interest to procure the release of Col.

Allen and his restoration to his afflicted Family. I beg you will not suffer the Major to be delayed as I shall directly upon my Arrival at Yorktown, transmit you their Approbation of His being allowed to pass thither.

"I am Sir, &c.,

"H. G."

The major, on being released, at once proceeded to New York with his wife, where a son was born early the next year, and whence they returned to England. Major Acland represented Callington, County of Cornwall, in Parliament, at the time of his death, having been elected to the 14th Parliament, which commenced its first session Nov. 29th, 1774¹⁰; and his parliamentary speeches in 1775, show that he held pronounced tory views in regard to the American war. He died at Pixton, in Somersetshire, Nov. 22d, 1778.¹¹ So many contradictory statements have been made in regard to his death, that a contemporaneous account, taken from the *London Chronicle* of Dec 5-8, 1778, and seeming to bear the impress of authenticity, is here inserted in full, and is as follows:—

"Saturday last, the 29th ult., were interred in the family vault at Broadcliff in Devon, amidst the tears of a grateful country, the beloved and respected remains of John Dyke Acland, Esq., colonel of the first regiment of Devonshire militia

Capt. James Henry Craig, of the 47th, one of the officers entrusted with making arrangements for the surrender at Saratoga, who was wounded both at Bunker Hill, and at Hubbardton, afterwards became a lieut.-general in the army, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and Governor General of Canada, and received the order of the Bath."

and Major of the 20th regiment of foot. Such untrue accounts have been circulated of an affair that happened with a Mr. Lloyd previous to Col. Ackland's last fatal illness, that it becomes necessary to assure the Public the dispute did not originate from a private quarrel or misunderstanding. Mr. Lloyd was not of Col. Ackland's acquaintance, and absolute necessity could only reconcile such a measure to the Colonel's excellent understanding. Mr. Lloyd called on him, as Colonel of the 1st regiment of Devonshire militia, to answer for the corps declining his company at the public mess before, as well as after, the Colonel's return from America, which he considered as the occasion of the universal neglect he experienced. In consequence of a demand so extraordinary, the Colonel received the fire of a pistol from Mr. Lloyd, and snapped both his pistols in return. A friend of Mr. Lloyd's then interposed, and Mr. Lloyd acknowledging he had no personal cause of complaint, and was sorry for what had happened, the affair thus ended. Col. Ackland returned home by the usual time of breakfast, and was amusing himself in directing some improvements about his place, to all appearance as well as for some days before, when he was seized so suddenly, that, though standing between his particular friends, they could not prevent his receiving injury from a fall. After this seizure there remained

little hope, though he continued till the fourth day. The exertions of his active mind and the severity of two American campaigns had entirely exhausted a good constitution, and his family, country, and friends, are left to lament a loss that must forever be deplored."

Major Acland left two children, named respectively, John, and Elizabeth Kitty. John succeeded his grandfather as eighth baronet, in 1785, but dying the same year without issue, the baronetcy and a portion of the estates reverted to his uncle Thomas, whose grandson is the present, or eleventh baronet. The daughter, Elizabeth Kitty, received a portion of the family estates at her brother's death; and on the 26th of April, 1796, she married Henry George, second Earl of Carnarvon. She died the 5th of March, 1831, leaving two sons and three daughters; and one of her grandsons is the fourth or present earl.¹

Lady Harriet Acland died July 21, 1815, after thirty-seven years of widowhood, for she never married again. Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 377, and Fonblanque, in his biography of Burgoyne, page 302, state that Lady Harriet married Chaplain Brudenel, who accompanied her on her night adventure to join her wounded husband after the battle of Bemus' Heights; and the former also says that she became insane after Major Acland's death. Mr. W.

The British artillery with Burgoyne was commanded by Major Griffith Williams, who attained the rank of colonel in the Royal Regt. of Artillery, and who commanded the artillery at Gibraltar during the latter part of its great siege. Of some twenty-two officers of the Royal Artillery with Burgoyne, six became general officers. One of them, afterwards Sir Edward Howarth, commanded the artillery at the battles of Talavera, Busaco, and Fuentes d'Onor, on the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, for which he was rewarded with a medal with two clasps, and made a Knight Commander of the Bath.

The Germans with Burgoyne under the veteran Riedesel, had many experienced officers, like Gall, and Specht, and Baum, and Breymann. Rather than surrender, Baum fought infantry with the sabres of his dismounted dragoons at Bennington,

L. Stone, however, has effectually exploded both these fictions, in the articles already alluded to. Gen. Gates, in writing to his wife, said of Lady Harriet—"She is the most amiable, delicate piece of quality you ever beheld";¹² and a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says,— "the person of her Ladyship was highly polished and delicate, and her manners elegantly feminine."¹³

Major Acland was, undoubtedly, one of the bravest of the many distinguished officers that accompanied Burgoyne; and the fact that he was twice wounded in a single campaign, shows the imminence of his danger. Gen. Gates spoke of him, as "a learned sensible man though a con-

founded Tory."¹² The Baroness Riedesel's¹⁴ reflection upon his intemperate habits, must, probably, be taken with considerable allowance; for, otherwise, he could not have won, and, certainly, could not have retained the favor and position he seems to have achieved. His gallantry, with his ancient lineage and powerful connections, would doubtless have rapidly pushed him onward and upward, had his life been longer spared. [¹B. R. ²D. S. 102. ³B. H. ⁴F. E. 8. ⁵O. 332. ⁶B. N. 127. ⁷M. T. 269. ⁸C. X: G. V. 176. ⁹H. I. 294. ¹⁰A. N. 59, 60. ¹¹D. V. 551. ¹²F. W. 9. ¹³E. L. 186. ¹⁴K. L. 120.]

till mortally wounded.⁴ Breymann redeemed his reputation, sullied by his failure to relieve Baum, by the valor with which he defended his redoubt at Bemus' Heights, and which was only captured after his fall, by the fiery Arnold, who was wounded in the assault.

Though the Provincials and Canadians with Burgoyne, like the volunteers in our late civil war, receive but slender praise from the regulars, yet there were some able officers among them, like the brothers Jessup, Lieut.-Colonel John Peters, and Capt. Justin Sherwood. The latter was a man of culture and commanded a company in Peters' Corps; and, in the words of Burgoyne, "was forward in every service of danger to the end of the campaign." Subsequently he was one of the instrumentalities Gen. Haldimand, the British Governor of Canada, used in his attempt to seduce Ethan Allen and many of the leading men of the Hampshire Grants from their allegiance to the American cause.

"The Canadians," Burgoyne tells us, "were officered by gentlemen of great condition in their country." M. de Lanaudiere, a Canadian

4. Riedesel, in writing of Baum and this way he endeavoured to cut his way the regiment of dragoons at the battle of through the third time;" and Max Von Bennington, says—"Twice he cut his way through the enemy. None of the dragoons having another shot, he ordered them to sling their guns over their shoulders and draw their swords. In

Elkington adds, "but bravery was now in vain, and the heroic leader, himself severely wounded, was forced to surrender with his dragoons." [K. M. 131, 251.]

officer, had been Sir Guy Carleton's aid-de-camp a year and a half before. He had accompanied Sir Guy on his night escape from Montreal to Quebec, who had thus avoided capture by Montgomery,—an escape that doubtless prevented the Americans from effecting the conquest of Canada.

Burgoyne's Indians, from whom so much was anticipated and so little realized, were under La Corne St. Luc, in Burgoyne's words, "a Canadian gentleman of honour and parts, and one of the best partizans the French had last war." He had been present at Baron Dieskau's defeat in 1755; and in the French expedition against Fort William Henry, in 1757, he had command of the Indians of the Left Column, and had witnessed the massacre of the garrison, after its surrender. He was with Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham when defeated by Wolfe; and, for years under the French regime, he had been Superintendent of the Indians in Canada. The second in command of Burgoyne's Indians was Charles de Langlade, a Canadian officer who had projected and achieved the defeat of Gen. Braddock with some of the very nations that served under Burgoyne.ⁱ

i. *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*, par Joseph Tassé, vol. 1, p. 73 [2 vols. Montreal, 1878], contains a memoir of Charles de Langlade, a translation of which, by

Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Dean, is to be found in vol. vii of the Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections, at page 123.

Explanatory Chapter. lix

The strength of Burgoyne's army when it crossed Champlain, as authenticated by its adjutant-general, was as follows : —

Total Rank and File 1st of July, 1777.

[*Sick included.*]

British		
9th regiment		542
20th "		528
21st "		538
24th "		528
47th "		524
53d "		537
62d "		541
Grenadiers and light infantry companies from 29th, 31st and 34th regiments		329
		<hr/> 4.067
Left in Canada out of the above		343
		<hr/>
	British Total	3.724
Germans, 1st July	3727	
Left in Canada	711	
	<hr/>	
For the campaign, Germans		3.016
		<hr/>
Regular troops, total		6.740

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Garrison left out of the above at

Ticonderoga.

British rank and file	462	
German rank and file	448	910
		<hr/>
To force a passage to Albany		5.830
1st July, British artillery		257
German artillery		100

Bat men, servants, &c in the above.

Recruits under Lieut. Nutt		154
Canadians		148
Indians never more than	500	
Before Septemb. fell off to	90	
Provincials at most	682	
1st October, no more than	456	
In September the additional companies joined near Fort Miller, in all		300

The British troops with Burgoyne, therefore, consisted of seven regimental organizations, the light companies of three others, and a detachment of 154 recruits under Lieut. Nutt of the 33d. The British artillery, though only equal to about two and a half companies, comprised enlisted men from both the Royal, and the Irish Artillery, but all the officers belonged to the former. The artillery officers were largely in excess of the complement of enlisted men with them, so that Lieut. Nutt's whole detach-

ment was detailed to serve as artillerists. Notwithstanding Burgoyne had seven regimental organizations, it is doubtful if he had a single whole regiment, as fifty men from each of six of his regiments were ordered to remain in Canada for its defence, and as the adjutant-general's report shows that the number actually left behind, was 343, it is probable that a detachment was likewise left from the 24th, although Lord Germaine's order in regard to leaving detachments in Canada, did not apply to the 24th. With the present ideas of military organization, it seems a little difficult to understand why the battalion companies, or as many as were required, of a single regiment, were not taken for this purpose, instead of a detachment being broken off from each regimental organization. The same fragmentary, or disintegrating process was also followed with regard to the Germans, for the same purpose.^j

The regiments themselves, however, were of the highest character. The organization of most

j. Maj. Gen. Riedesel gives us a clue to the reason of detachments drawn from each regiment being used for garrison duty. The Regiment of Prince Frederick was reputed to be the best of all the German regiments, and Gen. Riedesel wrote to Gen. Carleton from La Prairie, under date of September 31, 1776, as follows:—"I wish your excellency would kindly allow Prince Frederick's regiment to rejoin the army. Its place in the garrison at Quebec could be quickly replaced by drawing detachments from the different regiments composed of those recruits and invalids that are too young or feeble to stand the hardships of a campaign."^k It is possible that this reason had its weight at the beginning of the next campaign. It speaks poorly for the health and morale of the Germans, and as the young, sick and feeble were not alone detached, but a given number from each regiment, the general's suggestion could have been but a portion of the reason for detaching from each organization. [^kK. M. 62.]

of them reached back to the beginning of the century, and three of them extended into a prior one; while the two youngest of all were more than twenty years old. The records of some of these regiments were full of glory; so that traditional association united with military discipline to elevate the morale of their members and to incite them to enthusiastic emulation. The record of Burgoyne's oldest regiment, the 21st, or Royal North British Fusiliers, will serve as an illustration.^k It was raised in Scotland, in 1678, during the reign of Charles II, and was first called into action, the following year, at Bothwell Bridge. In 1685, it assisted in defeating the Duke of Monmouth's army in Devonshire, when that nobleman attempted to usurp the British throne.

4. Numerical titles of British regiments were not generally used until the reign of King George II.¹ The numerical designation of a British regiment does not, in all cases, indicate its comparative age, though it does so in regard to the first six regiments of foot. The numerical designations of regiments were first determined by a board of officers assembled by order of King William III, in 1694. This board further recommended that all regiments, raised in future, should take rank from the date upon which they were placed on the English establishment. This recommendation was confirmed in 1713-15, 1751, and 1768. The regiments raised previous to the reign of Queen Anne, were thus numbered from 1 to 27. Those raised during Queen Anne's reign were numbered from 28, upwards. All junior to the present 39th, were reduced in 1712-13. The number of regiments

was substantially increased in 1740; but in 1748-49 all junior to the present 49th, were reduced. In 1755 another large addition to the army was made, both by forming new regiments, and by joining additional battalions to the old organisations. In 1758 the new battalions were detached from the old, and were renumbered as separate regiments, and the other recently formed regiments were then likewise renumbered; but at the peace of 1763, a reduction took place as far as the 70th. During our Revolutionary War and the war between Great Britain, France and Spain, growing out of our struggle, the British army was again largely increased. At the peace of 1783 it was proposed to reduce the number of Line Regiments to 64, but the reduction was not carried beyond the present 73d.² [¹G. E. p. 7. ²B. H: L. X. 238, *as post.*]

It took part in the battle of Killikranksy, in 1689; and the next year it embarked for Flanders and had a share in many memorable victories where King William commanded in person. At the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, it returned to Great Britain; but, in 1702, it again embarked for the continent, where, under the great Duke of Marlborough, it shared in most of the actions of the war, particularly at Blenheim, in 1704, where its colonel was killed; at Ramillies, in 1706; at Oudenarde, in 1708; and at Malplaquet, in 1709, where it again lost its colonel. After the peace of Utrecht it returned to Scotland and participated in the battle of Sheriffmuir, which put an end to the rebellion of 1715. For several years it remained in Scotland, and for a brief period in England; but it again embarked for Flanders in 1741. It was in the front line at Dettingen, in 1743, and it was at Fontenoy, in 1745, where it suffered so severely that it brought but two officers off the field. The regiment being much depleted, was sent first to Bruges, and then to Ostend, at which latter place it was captured by the French. Its next service was to aid in quelling the rebellion of 1745, at the battle of Culloden. In 1746 it embarked once more for Flanders, and it was present at the battle of Val, in 1746, and in that of Lafeldt, in 1747. The peace of Aix la Chapelle brought it back to Great Britain, but, in 1749, it went to Gibraltar,

where it spent upwards of eight years. In 1761 it participated in the capture of Belleisle, on the coast of France, and then proceeded to the Mobile, remaining in America till 1772. Early in the spring of 1776 it again started for America, with the troops intended to relieve Gen. Carleton at Quebec. It assisted in driving the Americans from Canada, and, in 1777, shared the fortunes of Burgoyne. This concluded its service during the American Revolution, as it was not exchanged till 1781. Its subsequent services concern us but little. Though inscribing upon the regimental flag the names of victories in which a regiment has shared, is of comparatively recent date, yet the colors of the 21st now bear upon them, the Thistle, with the Circle of St. Andrew, and the legend "*Nemo me impune lacessit*," together with the King's Cypher and Crown, and the names—"Bladensburg," "Alma," "Inkerman," "Sevastopol."

Many of the other regiments had rendered services little less brilliant. The 20th had opened its career at the battle of the Boyne, and had been at Fontenoy, and Culloden, and upon the expeditions against St. Maloes, and Rochfort. In 1758 it went to Germany and served through the Seven Years War. During that memorable period it was at Minden, Warberg, Camper, and the surprise of Zierenberg. At Minden alone

its casualties comprised 17 officers and 304 enlisted men. This corps owed not a little to Maj.-Gen. Wolfe, who, as captain, major and lieutenant-colonel, did much to make it a model regiment, and who was appointed colonel of the 2d Battalion in 1758, which was then renumbered as the 67th.⁴

The records of the other British regiments with Burgoyne, were likewise conspicuous for gallantry.⁵ All these regiments, with the ex-

1. Though no extended record of Burgoyne's regiments can be given, for lack of space, yet a few words in regard to each, may not be without interest.

The 9th Foot was raised June 12, 1685. It now bears on its colors the figure of Britannia, with the words "Roleia" "Vimiera" "Corunna" "Busac" "Salamanca" "Vittoria" "St. Sebastian" "Nive" "Peninsula" "Cabool 1842" "Moodkee" "Ferozeshah" "Subraon" and "Sevastopol."¹

The 20th Foot was raised Nov. 20, 1688, shortly after the landing of King William at Torbay. Its colors are now inscribed with "Minden" "Egmont-op Zee" "Egypt" [with the Sphinx] "Maida" "Vimiera" "Corunna" "Vittoria" "Pyrenees" "Orthes" "Toulouse" "Peninsula" "Alma" "Inkerman" "Sevastopol" "Lucknow."²

The 24th Foot was raised March 18, 1689, and its colors now bear the words "Egypt" [with the Sphinx] "Cape of Good Hope" "Talavera" "Fuentes d'Onor" "Salamanca" "Vittoria" "Pyrenees" "Nivelle" "Orthes" "Peninsula" "Punjaub" "Chillian-wallah" and "Goojerat."³

The 29th Foot was organized February 12, 1702.⁴ It was in Boston at

the time of the "Boston Massacre," in 1770, in which it was discredibly conspicuous.⁴ Its colors now have inscribed upon them "Roleia" "Vimiera" "Talavera" "Albuhera" "Peninsula" "Ferozeshah" "Subraon" "Chillian-wallah" and "Goojerat."⁵

The 31st Foot was embodied February 12, 1702. This regiment, with its women and children, was on the ill-fated "Kent," East Indiaman, at the time of its famous double disaster by wreck and by fire, in 1825, when its officers, by their heroic conduct, gained more credit than they could have done in many battles. It now bears on its colors the words "Talavera" "Albuhera" "Vittoria" "Pyrenees" "Nivelle" "Nive" "Orthes" "Peninsula" "Cabool 1842" "Moodkee" "Ferozeshah" "Aliwal" "Subraon" "Sevastopol" and "Taku Forts."⁶

The 33d Foot, likewise, dates from February 12, 1702. It served actively and suffered severely in our Revolutionary War. Among the battles in which it participated in that struggle, were Long Island, Brandywine, Germantown, Camden, and Guildford Court House; and it was finally captured under Cornwallis, at Yorktown, in 1781. The Duke of Wellington saw much service in this reg-

ception of the 47th, embarked at Great Britain for Quebec, in the spring of 1776. The 29th was the first to sail. It embarked at Chatham in February, the grenadiers on board the *Isis*, man of war of 50 guns, and the remainder of the companies on the *Surprise* and *Triton* frigates, the *Marten*, sloop of war, and two large navy transports named the *Lord Howe*, and *Bute*; which fleet, with the victuallers *British Queen*, *Agnes*, and *Beaver*, sailed for Quebec from Portsmouth, March 7th, and Portland, March 11th, though it did not finally get clear of the British coast till several days later. The *Isis*,

iment, became its colonel, and gave it his name.⁶ Its colors bear the Duke's crest and motto, and the following names of battles: "Seringapatim" "Waterloo" "Alma" "Inkerman" "Sevastopol" and "Abyssinia."

The 34th Foot was another of the numerous regiments organized February 12, 1702. Its flag bears a laurel wreath, and the words "Albuhera" "Arroyo dos Molinos" "Vittoria" "Pyrenees" "Nivelle" "Nive" "Orthes" "Peninsula" "Sevastopol" and "Lucknow."⁷

The 47th Foot was raised January 15, 1741, and was originally numbered as the 58th, but was renumbered in 1758. In the rebellion of 1745 it was at Edinburgh, and the bulk of it was captured by the Pretender's army. It took part in the expedition against Louisbourg, and was with Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. Col. Barré, the adjutant-general of Wolfe's army, in a speech in the House of Commons, Oct. 26, 1775, speaks of it as "the very corps that broke the whole French column and threw them into such disorder at the siege of Quebec."⁸ Its colors are inscribed with

"Tarifa" "Vittoria" "St. Sebastian" "Peninsula" "Ava" "Alma" "Inkerman" and "Sevastopol."⁹

The 53d Foot dates from December 21, 1755, when it was designated as the 55th, its present number having been assigned it in 1758. Its colors bear the words "Nieuport" "Tournay" "St. Lucia" "Talavera" "Salamanca" "Vittoria" "Pyrenees" "Nivelle" "Toulouse" "Peninsula" "Aliwal" "Sobraon" "Punjaub" "Goojerat" and "Lucknow." The 53d did not leave Canada, to return home, until July 31st, 1789, after more than thirteen years continuous service in North America.¹⁰

The 62d Foot was raised as the Second Battalion of the 4th, or King's Own, in 1755, but was detached from it and numbered as a distinct regiment April 21, 1758. Its colors are inscribed with "Nive" "Peninsula" "Ferozeshah" "Sobraon" and "Sevastopol."¹¹ [B. H. *G. C. *G. D. *A. I. 334-340. *G. F. *L. Z. 494, *et pass.* *G. G. *L. Y. 20-26: D. T. 170, 384, *et pass.* 499: H. 40. *G. I: J. W.]

Surprise, and Marten, arrived at Quebec, May 6th, and the Triton with the transports and victuallers, May 10th.¹⁵ The 21st Foot embarked on board six transports at Plymouth, March 31st, preparatory to joining the German troops when they should pass by. The first division of Brunswickers under Gen. Riedesel embarked at Staade, on the Elbe, March 13th—18th, and sailed the 19th for England, arriving at Spithead on the 28th, but the Hanau regiment did not arrive till the 31st. The fleet sailed from Plymouth, according to Lord George Germaine, April 7th, but according to Gen. Riedesel, two or three days earlier, and consisted of thirty-six vessels. The frigate Juno, Capt. Dalrymple, took the lead and formed the advance; then came sixteen ships having the Brunswickers on board; four with the Hanau regiment; six with four companies of the Royal Artillery, with their train on two transports; and six with the 21st Regiment. The Blonde, of 36 guns, commanded by Capt. Pownell, and having Gen. Burgoyne, Gen. Phillips and other officers aboard, brought up the rear. The date of the fleet's arrival at Quebec was June 1st. The 9th, 20th, 24th, 31st, 34th, 53d and 62d regiments, under Lieut.-Col. Fraser of the 24th, completed their embarkation at Cork on April 5th, sailed on the 8th, and arrived at Quebec, May 29th.¹⁶ The transports with the second division of

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Brunswick troops and the Hanau artillery, under convoy of his Majesty's ships Amazon and Garland, sailed from St. Helen's June 26th. The vessels became separated, and the Hanau artillery reached Quebec July 29th; but it was Sept. 17th, before the Brunswickers arrived.¹⁷

The 47th regiment embarked for America in 1773. At the opening of the Revolutionary War it was stationed at Boston, and it participated in the battle of Bunker Hill, and its light companies in the battle of Lexington. Upon the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, it accompanied Sir William Howe's troops to Halifax, whence it was dispatched on the 20th of the next month, in three transports under convoy of the Niger frigate, to aid its colonel, Sir Guy Carleton, at Quebec, where it arrived May 8th.¹⁸ As this regiment was detached from his army by Sir William Howe without orders from the War Office, he was ordered on the 11th of June, 1776, to have it returned to him, but not without commendation for his zeal for the service in forwarding it to Carleton's assistance. Ten days later, however, that order was countermanded, and Carleton was directed to retain it; the Waldeck regiment, which had originally been intended for Canada, being sent to Howe instead.¹⁹

The 33d regiment, of which Lord Cornwallis was colonel, was intended to have been ulti-

mately sent to Canada, as Lord George Germaine wrote to Gen. Carleton under date of Feb. 17, 1776, as follows :—" That embarkation will consist of six Regiments from Ireland, and two from Great Britain, together with four companies of Artillery, and a large battering train ; the whole to be under the command of Major General Burgoyne, who, together with Major General Lord Cornwallis, is appointed by the King to serve under you on the side of Canada ; but it will possibly be sometime before you can have the assistance of Lord Cornwallis, as he is at present appointed to serve under Major General Clinton, upon an expedition to the southward, but he will proceed to Quebeck with his regiment as soon as that service is over." The 33d, with several other regiments, embarked on transports at Cork, Dec. 29th—Jan. 1st, 1775-6, expecting to proceed at once to America in Sir Peter Parker's expedition against Charleston, S. C. Owing to protracted delays, however, the fleet did not leave Cork till Feb. 10th, and it was May 3d before it arrived off Cape Fear. It will be remembered that Sir Peter Parker's attack on Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, was repulsed ; and after a few weeks, the expedition was abandoned, the fleet sailing for New York." The intention of sending Cornwallis and his regiment to Canada was given up, and it is presumed that the recruits

under Lieut. Nutt, for the 33d, were sent to Quebec before the design of ultimately sending that regiment there, had been abandoned; but the time of sailing or arrival of Lieut. Nutt's detachment has not been ascertained. These recruits, according to Hadden, were detailed for service in the Artillery.

The strength of each infantry company was between fifty and sixty enlisted men; and ten companies constituted a regiment. The right flank company was composed of grenadiers, and the left flank company of light infantry. The remaining eight companies composed the battalion proper, and were called battalion companies." But though this was the ordinary peace establishment, yet, early in 1776, an order was issued from the War Office that the marching regiments for the American service were to consist of twelve companies of three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six effective rank and file each, besides commissioned officers." Sergeant Lamb of the 9th, and afterwards of the 23d Foot, says that two companies of each battalion were to remain in Great Britain for the purpose of recruiting.⁴ In Burgoyne's adjutant general's report, it is stated that "in Sept. the additional companies joined near Fort Miller, in all 300."⁵ This must mean *one* company per regiment, which would make

about the number, for there were six regimental organizations with Burgoyne in Sept., 1777, one having been left at Ticonderoga as a garrison; and we have somewhere seen it stated that one company per regiment remained permanently in Great Britain on recruiting service. Indeed, an item from London, dated Feb. 3, in the issue of the *Continental Journal* for May 22, 1777, says: "An additional company to every regiment in Canada is ordered to be ready for embarkation." *The Remembrancer* under date of March 19, 1776, [Vol. 2, p. 366] says:—"The officers who are ordered for America are to wear the same uniform and their hair is to be dressed in like manner as the men, so that they may not be distinguished from them by the riflemen, who aim particularly at the officers."

The light infantry were active, strong men, selected from the battalion companies, and from the most promising recruits that were occasionally enlisted. They were the skirmishers of the regiment, and acted, so to speak, as the eyes of an army. When serving with the regiment the light infantry company was posted on the left flank. The grenadiers were clothed differently from the rest of the battalion, by wearing a high cap fronted with a plate of brass, on which the king's arms were generally represented, and by having a piece of fringed or tufted cloth upon

their shoulders, called a wing.^m They were always the tallest and stoutest men in the regiment, and, being on the right flank, were usually the first in all attacks.ⁿ When a number of regiments were serving together, the flank companies were usually detached and formed into a light brigade, these companies being then numbered entirely irrespective of their original regimental connection. Fraser's Light Brigade, in Burgoyne's army, consisted of ten grenadier companies and ten light infantry companies, together with the 24th Regiment; and, being picked troops, of course led the advance.

^m. Though the uniform of the British regiments of foot was red, yet each organization had trimmings peculiar to itself. At one time the popular designations of regiments were derived from this peculiarity; and, to this day, the 3d Foot is called "The Buffs," because of the color of its trimmings and accoutrements two centuries ago. At the time of Burgoyne's campaign the uniforms of the regiments taking part in it, were as follows, viz—

9th Foot. Red faced with yellow, white lace, with two black stripes.

20th Foot. Red faced with pale yellow, white lace, with a red and black stripe.

21st Foot. Red faced with blue, white lace, with a blue stripe. Fusileer regiments wore tall caps unlike those of other regiments of the line, and which were not quite as tall as grenadier caps.

24th Foot. Red lined with white, faced with willow green, white lace, one red and one green stripe.

29th Foot. Red faced with yellow, white lace, with two blue and one yellow

stripe.

31st Foot. Red faced with buff, white lace, blue and yellow worm, and small red stripes.

33d Foot. Red faced with red, lined with white, white lace, a red stripe in the middle.

34th Foot. Red faced with bright yellow, white lace, a blue and yellow worm, and red stripes.

47th Foot. Red faced with white, white lace, one red two black stripes.

53d Foot. Red faced with red, white lace, one red stripe, white lining.

62d Foot. Red faced with yellowish buff, white lace, one blue and one straw-colored stripe.

The uniform of the Royal Artillery consisted of blue coats with scarlet trimmings; white waistcoats and breeches; white stockings; black spatter dashes or gaiters; white accoutrements; cocked hat with a gold band, button and loop for the officers. The men's hair was clubbed: the officers wore theirs in a queue well powdered. [B. H : G. N : G. U : C. Z : D. A.]

Each regiment had a colonel, a lieut.-colonel, and a major; but the colonelcy was practically a sinecure, as the colonel was usually an old general officer, who rarely, or never, served with his corps. The direct command of the regiment, therefore, devolved upon the lieut.-colonel, and as the brigadier-generals were taken from the lieut.-colonels, some of the regiments would be led by majors, as was the case on Burgoyne's expedition. Each of the three field officers was supposed to command a company, so that a regiment of ten companies would have but seven captains; but as the colonel rarely or never served with the regiment, there was an officer styled a captain-lieutenant, who commanded the colonel's company.¹ Prior to 1772, this was a distinctive grade between lieutenant, and captain, but in that year an order was issued giving a captain-lieutenant the rank of captain, though the "Capt.-Lieut. and Captain," as he was afterwards designated in the Army Lists, was always the junior captain.² The subalterns of a British infantry company were usually a lieutenant, and an ensign. Fusileer corps, grenadiers, and light infantry, had second lieutenants, and no ensigns; hence the companies

¹. *War Office, May 26, 1772.*

The King has been pleased to direct that, for the future, the Captain-Lieutenants of the Cavalry and Marching Regiments shall have rank, as well in the army as in their respective regiments, as Captains; that the present

Captain-Lieutenants shall take the said rank from this day; and all future Captain-Lieutenants from the date of their respective commissions.

BARRINGTON.

[M. D. 332.]

of the 21st Foot, or Royal North British Fusiliers, with Burgoyne, had second lieutenants, and no ensigns.

An important part of Burgoyne's army was the artillery. Indeed, Burgoyne was attacked by his enemies at home for having with him a disproportionate train of artillery. Of the Royal Regiment of Artillery with Burgoyne, there were five captains, the senior of whom, Griffith Williams, held the army rank of major. Gen. Phillips, a major in the Royal Artillery, is not included in this number as he was serving as a major general. There were also three captain-lieutenants, two 1st lieutenants, and twelve 2d lieutenants, though one of the latter was killed at Skenesborough in July, 1777, soon after the British occupation of Ticonderoga. Capt. Jones was killed at Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19th, and Captain-Lieut. Blomefield and 2d Lieuts. Smith and Howarth were wounded at Bemus' Heights, Oct 7, 1777.¹⁶ Capt. Borthwick and First Lieut. Barnes, with a part of one company, remained at Ticonderoga and did not further participate in the campaign.¹⁷ Burgoyne's adjutant-general states that there were 257 of the British artillery on the expedition.¹⁸ Seventy of the enlisted artilleryists belonged to the Irish Artillery, which, in 1801, was incorporated into the Royal Artillery, as the 7th Battalion.¹⁹ The Royal Regiment of Artillery originated in 1716, and then consisted of two

companies. In 1872 it had expanded to twenty-nine brigades, containing over two hundred batteries, and 34,943 officers and men.²⁹ There has been no battle of importance in the last one hundred and sixty years, in which the British arms have participated, where the Royal Artillery has not been represented. At the time of Burgoyne's campaign this corps consisted of four marching battalions of eight companies each; and it likewise had eight invalid companies. An artillery company comprised a captain, a captain-lieutenant, a first-lieutenant, three second-lieutenants, and one hundred enlisted men.³⁰ June 22d, 1772, it was ordered by Royal Warrant that captain-lieutenants in the artillery, and engineers, should rank as captains in the army. Those who were then serving, were to have their commissions as captain dated May 26th, 1772; and those who might be subsequently commissioned, from the date of their appointment. The title of captain-lieutenant was abolished in 1804, and that of second captain substituted. Prior to 1771 there was a grade of commissioned officer in the artillery, below that of second lieutenant, called lieutenant-fire-worker, but it was abolished in that year. Those intended for engineer, or

²⁹. In addition to the one hundred enlisted men mentioned in the text, all of which were effectives, so called, there were three non-effectives allowed to each company. These latter were fictitious names borne on the company rolls for

the sake of drawing pay for three more men than were actually members of the company. Two of these non-effectives were allowed the captains, and one for the non-effective or company fund. [G. U. 85.]

artillery officers, were sent, when mere lads, to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, the Headquarters of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and entered as gentlemen cadets. Those ranking highest in attainments during their cadet course, entered the Royal Engineers, the others the Royal Artillery. Though the Master-General and the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance were, *ex officio*, the two highest in command of the sister corps of Engineers and Artillery, yet each artillery battalion had a colonel commandant, a lieut.-colonel, and a major; but these officers interest us little in arriving at an understanding of the organization of Burgoyne's force.¹⁰

But two officers of the Royal Engineers accompanied Burgoyne, both of whom were sub-engineers and lieutenants. The senior of these was William Twiss, who served throughout the campaign; the other was Andrew Durnford, who was with Baum at Bennington, where he was taken prisoner, when his service with Burgoyne terminated.

Some naval officers, likewise, accompanied Burgoyne, and rendered good service, not only in navigating the batteaux, but also in engineering matters. We find Capt. Schank of the navy, afterwards an Admiral of the Blue, constructing a pontoon bridge across the Hudson as late as Sept. 21st and 22d;¹¹ and young Edward Pellew,

afterwards Lord Exmouth, an Admiral of the White, and Vice-Admiral of England, then a midshipman only twenty years of age, who had distinguished himself on the *Carleton* at the Battle of Valcour, for which he had received a letter of thanks from the first Lord of the Admiralty, commanded a detachment of sailors on Burgoyne's expedition and rendered gallant service in retaking a provision vessel that had been captured by the Americans, for which Burgoyne sent him a letter of commendation. After the surrender, Mr. Pellew, after having shared in the attentions and hospitality of Gen. Gates, was sent to England by Gen. Burgoyne with despatches, a distinction to which his services in the campaign were considered to have entitled him. He sailed from Quebec early in November, 1777, and arrived in England about the middle of the next month."

It is not easy to determine the strength of the German regiments with Burgoyne, as Major Kingston has given us only the gross number, and not the detailed figures of each organization. All the troops furnished Great Britain, in 1776, by the Duke of Brunswick and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, Reigning Count of Hanau, were sent to Canada. The treaty with the Duke of Brunswick embraced a corps of Infantry of 3964 men, and a corps of unhorsed "Light Cavalry" of 336 men, which bodies

were organized into five regiments and two battalions; while the Hanau treaty included a regiment of infantry of 660 men, and a company of artillery of 128 men, with six field pieces." This would make 5088 German troops sent to Canada in 1776, but Major Kingston accounts for but 3827 of them, and it would seem the discrepancy was too great to be accounted for by a year's service, notwithstanding the unaccustomed rigor of a Canadian winter. The German troops with Burgoyne, therefore, consisted of an artillery company, a dragoon regiment, and seven infantry regiments or battalions. The following facts relating to the composition of the Brunswick regiments have been largely deduced from the number of officers attached to those regiments in the lists to be found in Burgoyne's *Orderly Book*, and in vol. 2 of Riedesel's *Memoirs, Letters and Journals*. Riedesel's Dragoons—so called from their colonel's name—were not mounted; and as they were armed with carbines and heavy sabres and equipments, they could only act as the heaviest kind of dismounted cavalry. Lieut.-Col. Baum commanded this regiment, which was divided into four troops, each of which was officered by a captain, a lieutenant and a cornet. Lieut.-Col. Breymann's Grenadiers were divided into four companies, each of which had a captain, and three lieutenants. Each of the other five regiments consisted of

five companies,⁴⁷ each officered by a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign. Barner's Battalion was composed of chasseurs, or light infantry, save one company, which consisted of jagers, or riflemen. The mode of detaching from each regiment a given number of men with proper officers to remain in Canada, as before referred to, of course interfered somewhat with the establishment as just given. The Left, or German Wing of Burgoyne's army, under Maj. Gen. Riedesel, was brigaded exactly like the Right, or British Wing under Maj. Gen. Phillips; Lieut.-Col. Breymann commanded the German Advance, or Light Brigade, and Specht, and Gall, respectively, the First and Second Brigades. The dragoons were not brigaded, but served as a headquarter guard.⁴⁸ The Hesse Hanau Artillery Company was under Capt. Pausch. It suffered terribly at Bennington, where it lost two of its guns. Lieut. Hadden refers so fully to the organization of the regulars, both British and German, that it is unnecessary to further advert to it here.

Of irregular troops there were two provincial battalions commanded, respectively, by Lieut.-Colonel John Peters, of the Hampshire Grants, and Lieut.-Colonel Ebenezer Jessup, of New York. The number of companies in each battalion is unknown, but they were not sufficient to constitute a regiment; and Peters' Corps was sent on

the expedition to Bennington in the hope of swelling its ranks by the accession of recruits in that neighborhood. There were also two Canadian companies, commanded, respectively, by Capt. Boucherville, and Capt. Monin; and Capt. Samuel McKay, a half pay officer of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment, acted as major. Capt. Fraser's marksmen, or rangers, and the Indians already mentioned, made up Burgoyne's force."

Rarely had a braver or better officered little army been sent to its destruction than this of Burgoyne; and yet it would seem that there was something radically wrong, both in its leader, and in its composition. Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne, notwithstanding his brilliant dash in Portugal with a handful of cavalry, was not the man to surmount unexpected difficulties, and wring success out of adverse circumstances. His pursuit of the Americans, after their evacuation of Ticonderoga, was rapid and brilliant, it is true, but his stay at Skenesborough, and his determination to sacrifice real to seeming progress by hewing a way through the woods to Fort Edward, instead of returning by water to Ticonderoga, and then crossing Lake George, was feeble indeed, his only excuse being the alleged fear that anything that looked like retracing his steps would serve to inspirit the defeated Americans; whereas the course he pursued gave his enemies

much more time to recover their spirits and assemble troops to oppose him, than the other would have done. Then too, when celerity of action was called for to strike the enemy advantageously, as well as to husband his provisions, which were brought from Canada when transportation was scarce, he permitted his army to be encumbered with unnecessary camp followers. Among them were a number of women, and some children; for it is notorious that the Baroness Riedesel and her young family and maids, Lady Harriet Acland and her maid, Mrs. Harnage, Mrs. Reynal, and other officers' and soldiers' wives accompanied Burgoyne.¹⁶ The *London Chronicle* for Dec. 20-23, 1777, says—"There were many women and children in Gen. Burgoyne's camp when he surrendered, all of whom were ordered to be provided for by Gen. Gates; the women at a whole ration, the children at an-half." A "Return of the British Troops who draw Provisions, Prospect Hill 22 Nov., 1777," found among the Heath Papers, gives 215 women; while a Provision Return of the German troops, about the same time, gives 82 women; making 297 women, besides officers' wives, and servants, with Burgoyne at Cambridge, a month after his surrender.

Gen. Phillips' order of Aug. 19, 1777, to be found *post*, page 314, in regard to Gen. Burgoyne's

baggage, has a very unpromising look for the lieutenant-general's self denial ; and it is known that he loved good eating and drinking, and was sensual and self indulgent. After the disastrous affair of Oct. 7th, Burgoyne seemed smitten with fatal indecision. Instead of actively retreating as he might then have done, he did little more than talk about it ; at one time tardily ordering a retreat, then inexplicably deferring it, meanwhile, if Madame Riedesel can be believed, toying with his mistress—courting Venus instead of Mars.¹⁷

This not doing the right thing at the right time appears to have been Burgoyne's cardinal defect in his American campaign ; and it seems to have grown upon him. Illustrations of this are numerous. He did not hurry his advance through to Albany when his capture of Ticonderoga and his brushing the Americans from before him at Hubbardton, Fort Ann, Fort George and Skenesborough, had so demoralized them as to enable him to accomplish well nigh whatever he should dare to attempt. He did not dispatch light, quick moving troops on the Bennington raid, where mobility was all important ; but sent cumbrous dismounted German dragoons ; and when the Americans, inspirited by St. Leger's repulse and the victory at Bennington, had been allowed time to recover from their July panic occasioned by the reverses of that month, and to concentrate a heavy force on Bur-

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goyne's front, the latter proposed to advance. What he had failed to do with a stricken foe before him, he now attempted to do when confronted by a victorious army, and when the golden opportunity had vanished. He had lost the prestige of uninterrupted success; he had lost many men on the campaign; the Indians had deserted him; and Howe had unaccountably left him to his fate; still he proposed to advance; and his only reason, as afterwards given, was that he felt bound by orders that he considered imperative. If he could tarry so long on the road, on the score of obstacles to be overcome, it is a little difficult to understand why even *his* construction of orders would not have warranted a further delay, if necessary, to successfully accomplish his purpose. His delay in July cost him all chance of success: his advance in September was fatal to his army. What his adversary, Gates, thought of this movement, is clearly indicated in a letter he addressed "To the Honorable the Chairman of the Committee at Bennington to be forwarded to the Committees to the Eastward thereof," which reads as follows—

"Camp on Bemus' Heights, Sept. 17, 1777.

I have rec'd certain intelligence that Gen'l Burgoyne has caused Skenesborough, Fort Ann, Fort George, Fort Edward, and the post he lately occupied to the southward of Lake George

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and Skenesborough, to be evacuated, and the Artillery stores and provisions to be brought to his army now at Van Veder's Mills, seven miles north of this camp, except some heavy cannon which are carried to the five mile island in Lake George. From this it is evident the Gen'l designs to risque all upon one rash stroke, it is therefore the indispensable duty of all concerned to exert themselves in reinforcing this Army without one moment's delay. The militia from every part should be ordered here with all possible expedition.

I am S'r your
Most obedient h'ble ser't
Horatio Gates." ¹⁸

On the 4th of October Gates wrote still more significantly of the character of Burgoyne, in a letter of that date to Gen. Clinton—"Perhaps his despair," said Gates, "may dictate to him to risque all upon one throw; he is an old gamester, and in his time has seen all chances. I will endeavour to be ready to prevent his good fortune, and, if possible, secure my own."¹⁹

It would seem from the testimony given in *The State of the Expedition*, that Burgoyne was popular with many, if not most of his officers, and yet the evidence, taken together, is far from conclusive on that point. Gen. Glover, whose brigade guarded Gen. Burgoyne's troops from

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Saratoga to Cambridge, wrote to Gen. Gates from Marblehead, Dec. 21st, 1777, as follows:—
“Many of Gen. Burgoyne’s officers are very bitter against him—have been heard to say ‘Damn him, he could call a Council at Saratoga, if he had call’d one at Fort Edward they should not have been made Prisoners, but they would do his business for him when they got home.’”

Another unfortunate element in Burgoyne’s army was its mixed character. That the Germans were jealous of the British, is indubitably indicated in the Memoir, Journal and Letters of Major General Riedesel. On the other hand, there is little less doubt that the British entertained a poor opinion of, if indeed they did not despise the Germans. Burgoyne greatly underrated the intelligence of his provincial officers, and they on their part, were justly annoyed at having their commissions withheld from them. Being required by the government to employ Indians, Burgoyne speedily disgusted them and their leaders; and though this was to the credit of his humanity, yet, in a military view, it lost him a part of his force, already too small. The organization of his troops, also, lacked cohesion, for there were too many petty bodies, too many small battalions and unregimented companies.

Whatever may have been Burgoyne’s errors and shortcomings, however, the government

itself was the real cause of the failure of the expedition, as it promised Burgoyne co-operation from New York, which he absolutely required and demanded, and then it neglected to give Sir William Howe peremptory orders to do, what it is unaccountable that any officer, calling himself a general, should not have done, even in the absence of orders. Had as able a commander as Sir Guy Carleton been in the place of either Burgoyne or Sir William Howe, it is not improbable that the campaign of 1777 would have had an entirely different termination.

A few words in regard to British army rank may assist some readers in understanding allusions in the orders and notes. The *volunteers* alluded to in the following pages, were young gentlemen joining a regiment going upon service, and doing duty with that corps until they could get commissions. In the Austrian, Prussian and Russian service such a volunteer would be termed a cadet." There were several kinds of rank in the British army. Regimental rank was, of course, an officer's rank in his regiment. Army rank, as it is denominated in the Army Lists, was usually brevet rank, and was conferred, in the vast majority of cases, after a given number of years service in a subordinate grade, though it was sometimes conferred for special merit. If an officer, however, who had served in one regiment, was transferred to another for

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any reason, he would take his regimental rank from the date of his commission in the regiment to which he had been transferred, but his army rank in that grade would date from his earliest promotion to it in any regiment. After having been borne a certain number of years on the active list as a captain, an officer was promoted to the army, or brevet rank of major, and so on in each successive grade up to the rank of general; but a majority was usually, but not always, the lowest brevet.^p As a colonel was the highest regimental grade, of course, all above that was only army rank.²² The grade of brigadier-general was formerly a distinctive one in the army, but it was abolished as such, about the year 1748; after which time it was only conferred temporarily, and ordinarily upon regimental lieutenant-colonels.⁴⁰ It was usually conferred for a war, or for as long as the bearer should serve in practically the same field of operations; as, for example, during the American War, as the British termed our Revolutionary struggle. Burgoyne's brigadiers, however, were confined to much more narrow limits, as indi-

p. Although brevet rank is usually stated as having been conferred only on officers of the rank of captain, or above, yet the following promotions copied from the *London Gazette*, plainly show that the lower grades were also brevetted.

"*War Office*, November 28, 1780.

"George William Ricketts, Ensign in the Army by Brevet."⁴

"*War Office*, July 1, 1783.

"John Wemyss, late Colonel of the Sutherland regiment of fencibles, Captain in the army by brevet"

"*War Office*, December 13, 1783.

"To be Captain in the army by brevet, Lieut. John Thomas Layard, of the 54th regiment."⁴ [*H. N.* 513. *H. R.* 10, 577.]

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cated by the following letter from Lord George Germaine to Gen. Carleton.

“ Whitehall, August 22, 1776.

“SIR : I had the honour to lay before the King your letter of the 22d of June, wherein you acquaint me that you had formed the Army into four Brigades, and given the command of them to Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbitt of the Forty-Seventh Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer of the 24th Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Powel of the Fifty-Third, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon of the Twenty-Ninth ; and his Majesty was pleased to observe thereupon, that these officers might continue to act as Brigadiers until part of your Army should be ordered to join the troops under the command of General Howe, and that then their rank of Brigadiers must cease, in order to prevent the impropriety of their having higher rank and pay than several of the Lieutenant Colonels who are their seniors in that Army.

“ You will here permit me to inform you that the King, upon reading that part of your letter of the 20th June, where you take notice of the troops under the command of Major-General Phillips, was pleased to observe, that although officers of Artillery, when ordered on duty, certainly command according to their rank and the dates of their commissions, yet that it has

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never been the custom of the British service, nor, as it is apprehended, of any other in Europe, that either General officers or others of Artillery, should roll in duty with the officers of the line ; and that Major-General Phillips having acted under you in that predicament, must not in future be considered as a precedent.

“ I am &c &c George Germaine ” “

This arrangement caused Burgoyne and his brigadiers, much chagrin, and Burgoyne in a letter to Adjutant-General Harvey, dated from the Camp on the River Bouquet, near Lake Champlain, June 22, 1777, states the case as follows :—“ I have been exceedingly distressed in regard to the brigadiers of this army. Sir Guy Carleton, the day I took leave of him, put into my hands an extract of a letter from the Secretary of War, approving the appointment of those gentlemen, but observing, that whenever any of them should *lead their brigades out of the province of Canada, in order to join the troops under General Howe*, there would be a necessity for their command ceasing as brigadiers, &c.

“Were this to be put in execution, according to the letter of the order, and the geographical limits of Canada, and supposing Major General Phillips at the same time to be employed solely in the artillery, I should find myself at the head of an army to undertake a siege, and afterwards

pursue objects of importance, and possibly of time, without a single intermediate British officer between the Lieutenant General, commanding *pro tempore* in chief, and a Lieutenant Colonel. It would be preposterous and impertinent in me to say one word more to you as an officer, upon the impossibility of methodizing or conducting such an army with such a total deficiency of staff. Had Lord Barrington condescended to have communicated his intentions to me in London, I think I could have convinced him of the impropriety. As it is, I must conclude that the spirit of the order goes only to prevent those gentlemen bearing a higher rank and pay than senior lieutenant colonels serving in the same army; and that therefore there can be no fault in keeping it dormant till the junction takes place. In other words, I look upon mine to be the Canada army till such time as I am in communication with General Howe, so as to make part of his force, and consequently without measuring degrees north and south, that the arrangements made in Canada, and approved by the King, remain in force till that time.

“I am persuaded, my dear General, you will support me in this liberty, if such it is to be called, not only as the absolute order and method of the service depends upon it, but also to avoid to these gentlemen, who have really great merit, the vexation and the ridicule of

being deprived of their rank and pay in the hour of that very service, with a view to which their appointment was originally made. I think I can answer, that the junction made, and the reasons for reverting to their former ranks, become obvious, they will submit to his Majesty's pleasure without a murmur."

In a subsequent letter to the same correspondent, written at Skenesborough, July 11th, Burgoyne again adverts to the matter in this wise:—"After what I have publicly mentioned of Fraser I am sure I need not press you in his favour. I cannot but feel confident in the hope that his Majesty's grace will find its way through all obstacles to prevent so discouraging a circumstance as the return of this gallant officer to the mere duty of lieutenant colonel, at the head of one battalion, after having given ascendancy to the King's troops, and done honour to his profession, by the most spirited actions in critical periods of two successive campaigns."

Local rank was confined to certain territorial limits, and was held by an officer until he obtained the same army rank, when, of course, the local merged in the broader army rank, which latter applied to the officer in all parts of the world. Some of the officers referred to in this volume, will serve as illustrations of the explanations attempted. For instance, in the

spring of 1777, Sir Guy Carleton had the regimental rank of colonel of the 47th Foot, the army rank of major-general, and the local rank of "general in America." Major-General Phillips was a major in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, a colonel in the army, and a "major-general in America." The final illustration shall be Capt. Thomas Aubrey of the 47th Foot. At the time of his death, in 1814, he was a half-pay captain in the 73d Foot, a major in the army, and a lieutenant-colonel in the Bucks County Militia.³

The officers of the Guards had a double rank which was conferred on the following occasions. The rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army was granted by James II, in 1688, to the captains; that of captain by William III, in 1691, to the lieutenants; and that of lieutenant to the ensigns, after the battle of Waterloo.⁴ As officers, when serving in their regiments, serve in their regimental rank, but when serving on detachment or with other regiments, have the benefit of their army rank, much difficulty ensued from this double rank of the Guards, and not a little embarrassment was caused by it in the detachment of Guards serving in America under Sir William Howe.⁵ This extra rank will not be enjoyed by those who obtained their commissions since the abolition of the purchase system, July 20th, 1871.⁶ There were various

other intricacies of rank in the British service a century ago, some of which still exist ; but an explanation of them is not necessary for a proper understanding of either the text or the notes.

As but two journals by British participants in Burgoyne's campaign, other than Hadden's, have found their way into print, a few words in regard to their writers, may not be amiss. Roger Lamb—the author of *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the late American War, from its commencement to the year 1783*, published in Dublin in 1809, and of a *Memoir of His Own Life*, published at Dublin in 1811,—a non-commissioned officer in the 9th Foot, was born in Dublin, Jan 17, 1756, and was the youngest of eleven children “of humble, industrious and virtuous parents,” to adopt his own words. When but seventeen years of age he enlisted in the 9th Foot, then stationed at Waterford, in Ireland, which he joined Aug. 24, 1773. He was promoted to be corporal in 1775, and being too weak, from sickness, to march with his regiment when it left Dublin to embark for America, he followed on as soon as he was able, and reached Cork before its departure. His zeal secured his promotion to serjeant, and he embarked, as he tells us, April 3, 1776, on the transport *Friendship*, at the cove of Cork ; sailed with the rest of the fleet on the 8th ; and arrived at Quebec, May 26th. He served in

Canada in 1776, and on Burgoyne's campaign in 1777, taking part in the battles of Hubbard-ton, Freeman's Farm, and Bemus' Heights, and being included in the Saratoga Convention. He escaped from the Americans, arrived in New York Nov. 25, 1778, and immediately joined the 23d Foot, or Royal Welch Fuzileers, in which he was at once appointed a serjeant. He served with this regiment at the south, and again became a prisoner upon Cornwallis' surrender. After one unsuccessful attempt, he finally made good his escape from the Americans, and again reached New York, as an escaped prisoner, March 23, 1782. At the British evacuation of New York, in November, 1783, he returned to England, and received his discharge, after twelve years service. After the war he became a schoolmaster, and it is easy to see that his education was far superior to the great majority of his rank at that time in the British army; indeed, he says in his Journal, [p. 388.]—"After the army under Lord Cornwallis became prisoners, I was attached to the general hospital. I had frequently officiated as an assistant surgeon, both in the 9th and 23d regiments; and sometimes, when we had not a professional surgeon, I had endeavoured to do that duty, to the best of my knowledge." His petition for a pension, 25 years after his discharge, gives his own summary of his military career.

“ Dublin, January 7, 1809.

“ To His Royal Highness the Duke of York,
Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces ;
the Memorial of R. Lamb, late Serjeant in the
Royal Welch Fuzileers,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That Memorialist served in the Army twelve years, in the 9th and 23d Regiments of Foot, eight years of which was in America, under the command of Generals Burgoyne and Cornwallis ; during which time he was in Six pitched Battles, Four Sieges, several important Expeditions, was twice taken prisoner, and as often made his escape to the British Army : viz. First, in 1778, when prisoner with General Burgoyne's Army, he escaped, with two men, whom he brought with him to General Sir Henry Clinton, at New York ; Secondly, in 1782, when taken with Lord Cornwallis's Army, he eluded the vigilance of the American guards, and conducted under his command, seven men to Sir Guy Carleton, the then Commander in Chief in said City, to both of whom he gave most important Intelligence respecting the enemy's Army, for which service he was appointed by General Birch, then commandant of the City, his first Clerk, and Adjutant to the Merchants' Corps of Volunteers there.

“ That in the battle of Camden, in South Carolina, he had the honour of carrying the Regi-

mental Colours, and immediately after was appointed temporary Surgeon to the Regiment, having had some little knowledge of physic, and received the approbation of all his Officers for his care of the sick and wounded.

“That at the battle of Guilford Court-House, in North Carolina, he had the heartfelt pleasure of saving Lord Cornwallis from being taken prisoner, and begs leave with profound deference to state, that he was always chosen one of the first Serjeants to execute any enterprise that required intrepidity, decision, and judgment for its accomplishment.

“That Memorialist being now far advanced in life, humbly solicits your Royal Highness to recommend him for a military pension, which would smoothe his declining years, and be most gratefully received as a remuneration for the many times he has risked his life and limbs in his Majesty’s service.

“That for the truth of these facts, he most humbly refers to General H. Calvert and Colonel Makenzie.”

“To which Memorial the following Answer was received :

“Adjutant General’s Office.

“The Adjutant-General informs Serjeant Roger Lamb, that the usual Authority has

been given by the Secretary at War, for placing him upon the Out Pension of Chelsea Hospital, dispensing with his personal appearance before the Board.

“Horse-Guards, 25th Jan., 1809.”

Thomas Anburey was the author of *Travels through the Interior Parts of America. In a Series of Letters. By an officer*—published in London in 1789, a new edition of which appeared in 1791. Two French translations of this work were issued at Paris, one in 1790, and the other in 1793; and a German translation, published at Berlin, appeared in 1792. Anburey embarked at Cork for Quebec, as a volunteer, with the care of some recruits for the 47th Foot, on board the transport Howe, about the middle of August, 1776; and, after a fatiguing passage of eleven weeks, attended with no little danger, safely arrived at his destination. He spent the winter at Montreal, and in 1777 took part in Burgoyne's campaign, being attached, as a volunteer, to the grenadier company of the 29th Foot, then commanded by Lord Petersham. He was at the battle of Hubbardton; and August 10, 1777, he received a commission as ensign in the 24th Foot.* He was at Freeman's Farm and Bemus' Heights, was included in the Saratoga Convention, and remained in captivity till Sept., 1781, the last of which month he em-

barked at New York, on the packet Swallow, for England, arriving at Falmouth on the 15th of the following December.⁴⁶ His name appears in the British Army Lists for the last time in 1782; and he must have left the army late in 1782, or early in 1783, as John Britland Hollings was gazetted Feb. 19, 1783, as an ensign in the 24th Foot, *vice* Anburey. No trace of this officer's subsequent career has been found. The United Service Journal for Dec., 1840, part 3, p. 517, contains a sketch of Sir Thomas Anburey, K. C. B., of the Bengal Engineers, who was commissioned as ensign of engineers by the Court of Directors, July 9, 1783; and who died March 31, 1840, aged 80; 57 years of his life having been spent in the East India Company's service. Sir Thomas might well enough have been the ensign of that name on Burgoyne's campaign, for when he entered the East India service he must have been 23; and, had he entered the British army in 1776, he would then have been 16, which was not too young for him to have joined the service, as Lamb, in his Memoir, in speaking of the battle of Hubbardton, says—"Three subalterns of the 20th regiment on this occasion, the oldest of whom did not exceed the age of seventeen years, were buried together." The sketch of Sir Thomas, above alluded to, makes no mention of his having served in the British army, nor to his

having written a book of travels in America, which militates against the probability of his being the same person as the ensign in the 24th Foot, of the same name.

Before concluding, some mention of two of the authorities, frequently referred to in this volume, should, likewise, be made. The Haldimand Papers used by the editor, is the copy in the Archives of the Dominion of Canada at Ottawa, made from the original in the British Museum, and which have never been printed. When the editor was in Ottawa, in 1881, but about one hundred of the two hundred and thirty odd volumes composing the set, had been copied, and hence that is all to which he has had access.

The British Army Lists, which have furnished a vast fund of information for the biographical sketches of officers mentioned in this volume, date, *by authority*, from 1741; but the set in the Astor Library—the one used by the editor—only extends back to 1754. The early volumes do not contain the regiments on the Irish Establishment, and the first twenty-four volumes have no indexes. Indeed the Army List of 1765 is the first to contain an index of officers of cavalry and infantry regiments on active service; and that of 1789, an index of half-pay officers. The List of 1785 is the first to include in its index, the officers of the Royal

Artillery and Royal Engineers on active service; and it was not until 1803 that the indexes were sufficiently perfected to include officers on full, and half-pay, all together. The indexes for years were wretched affairs, and the Lists themselves are full of errors and omissions; so that it becomes a writer, that delves in them for information, and relies on them for facts, to have the distinct understanding with his readers, that his statements are, in accountants' parlance, made "with errors and omissions excepted." [B. T. under *Bremer of the Priory*. ¹B. H. ¹G. U ¹E. Z. ¹H. I. ¹C. Z. 179, 399. ²E. N. 475. ³E. A. 1118. ⁴U. 439, ⁵B. S. ⁶K. S. 400. ⁷B. N. 96, app. 27. ⁸B. H. : K. S. 133 : G. E. ⁹L. T. 852 : G. D. ¹⁰G. 939-941 : H. 456-458 : K. D. 346, 370. ¹¹G. 1186 : H. F. 198, 305, 342, 368, 387 : K. M. 32, 33, 38, 39, 42 : G. V. 71. ¹²K. E. 147 : K. L. 61, 66. ¹³G. 1081 : H. 458. ¹⁴G. 940 : H. 803, 1005. ¹⁵G. 940 : F. 903. ¹⁶H. F. 90 : C. U. 21, 23. ¹⁷G. N. ¹⁸E. 6. ¹⁹G. V. 65. ²⁰B. N. app. 28. ²¹G. V. ²²E. Z. ²³C. Z. 164, 316, 417. ²⁴C. Z. 281 : D. C. 577. ²⁵C. Z. ²⁶K. M. 154. ²⁷I. T. 12, 15, 25, 28, 29. ²⁸H. 271, 276, 358. ²⁹K. M. : K. N. : B. M. 155-164 : H. 273-276. ³⁰B. N. app. 34 : K. M. : K. N. : B. M. : E. Z. ³¹K. L. 112-115, 129, 131 : B. N. 87. ³²K. L. 125. ³³M. L. 170. ³⁴D. R. ³⁵A. T. 118, 150. ³⁶I. 1104. ³⁷B. N. app. 32. ³⁸B. N. app. 33. ³⁹M. B. 455-457. ⁴⁰H. J. 123. ⁴¹O. P. ⁴²H. T. T. 296.]



LIEUT. HADDEN'S JOURNAL.

MARCH 4th 1776, I embarked on board an Ordnance Transport, destined for *Quebec*, and lost sight of England May 2nd, 1776.

After a pleasant passage I arrived on the Coast of America and discover'd Land the 21st June, and on the 12th July landed at Quebec.

The 13th July I disembarked the Light Artillery &c., and putting them on board Batteaux's, with the Detachment proceeded up the St. Lawrence. In Lake *St. Pierre*, we met with such violent weather as to oblige us to run the Batteaux's on the *Lee Shore*, where we landed the *Stores*, as many of the Batteaux's filled with water; the day following being more moderate we proceeded on our route. Arriving at the conflux of the *St. Lawrence* and *Sorel* Rivers we proceeded up the latter; there being a very strong current, the *Canadian* Boat-men landed and drew us up with Cords.

July 23d, I arrived at *Chamblee Fort*, erected at the lower part of the *Rapids* which break off the water communication to St. Johns, a distance of 15 miles.

The *Fort at Chamblee* or rather the *Shell* of a large square House *loop holed*, is an ancient structure raised about 50 Feet, totaly of Masonry and intended as a defence against the sudden attack of the Savages. It was surrender'd by *Major Stopford*⁹ (last year) to the *Rebels* (who brought 1 Gun & a Horse load of powder against it,) after firing a few Shot: and he neg-

9. The Honorable Joseph Stopford was the fourth son of James Stopford, first Viscount Stopford and Earl of Courtown, in the Irish Peerage, by his wife, Elizabeth, only daughter of Doct. Edward Smyth, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, and was baptized Nov. 11, 1741.¹ He probably entered the military service Nov. 6, 1759, as a cornet in the 18th Light Dragoons; but this cannot be affirmed positively, as no Christian name of the — Stopford in the 18th Dragoons is given in the Army Lists. Be that as it may, however, he was commissioned as captain in the 107th Foot, or Queen's Own Royal Regiment of British Volunteers, Oct. 22, 1761, a new regiment just raised, and which was reduced at the peace of 1763, the officers going upon half pay. He soon returned to service again as he was commissioned as captain in the 7th Foot, or Royal Fusiliers, March 20, 1764, and major, Oct. 27, 1771, accompanying his regiment to America in 1774.² As stated in the text, he was captured at Chambly, but he seems not to have been over mindful of the obligations of his parole

while a prisoner, as we find in the doings of Congress for Dec. 4, 1775, the following entry; — "Information being given to Congress that Major Stopford, notwithstanding his parole, is endeavouring to debauch the minds of the people, Resolved, That the Delegates of New Jersey be directed to write to the Committee of Trenton, and desire them to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of Major Stopford and the officers there, and report to Congress."³ He became a lieutenant-col. in the army, Aug. 29, 1777, and lieutenant-col. of the 15th Foot Jan. 31, 1778, which regiment was then in America. His last commission was as colonel in the army, and was dated Nov. 20, 1782.⁴ He died unmarried at Wexford, in Ireland, June 29, 1786. His eldest brother, James, was the second Earl of Courtown, in the Irish Peerage, and first Lord Saltersford, in the British Peerage. His second brother, Edward, became a major-general; and his third brother, Thomas, became Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, the family consisting of six sons and six daughters.¹ [C. D. 449. ² B. H. ³ E. 1941.]

lecting to destroy a large quantity of powder then in the *Fort*, they were enabled to return and attack Fort St. John. The powder might have been thrown into the *Rapids* as the Fort is immediately above them. There was also a *Well* in the Fort. *Timidity* and *Folly* in this instance seems to have been the cause of all the succeeding misfortunes in Canada. I did not learn that any Men were *Killed* or wounded in the Fort, and it certainly might have held out long enough for the Enemy to have expended *all their* ammunition, in which case they must have abandoned their enterprise. On the contrary with the above supplies they besieged and took St. Johns in about Six weeks.

July 24th I waited on M. Gen'l Phillips^r & made my report, and on the 25th he was pleased to give out the following order.

Brigade Orders. Chamblee
Camp 25th July 1776.

"Lieut. Hadden having joined the Detachment and made his report to Major Gen'l Phillips, the Major Gen'l in justice to him declares himself perfectly satisfied with every step he has taken in which he has conducted himself in all respects like a good Officer"
(Signed) T. BLOMFIELD.^s Maj'r of Brig. &c.

^r. See Appendix 1.

^s. See Appendix 2.

About the 2nd of August, Brigadier Gen'l Gordon^t was wounded and died, Lord Petersham^u

r. Patrick Gordon was commissioned capt.-lieutenant of the Royals, or 1st Foot, Jan. 22, 1755. He was promoted to be captain in the 2d Battalion of that regiment, Feb. 16, 1756, and major of the 108th Foot, Oct. 17, 1761. At the peace of 1763 the 108th was disbanded, and he went upon half pay. He became a lieut.-colonel in the army May 25, 1772; and on the 7th of Feb., 1777, he returned to active service as lieut.-colonel of the 29th Foot, which was then under orders for Canada. He crossed the Atlantic with his corps in the spring of that year, and soon after his arrival in Canada was appointed a brigadier general, his brigade consisting of the 21st, 62d and 29th regiments. He was posted at Montreal until June 18th, 1776, when he was ordered to La Prairie, at which post he commanded when he died.

The British version of Gordon's death as given by Anburey in the first volume of his *Travels*, p. 256, is as follows: "In my last I mentioned to you the name of one, Whitcomb, a native of Connecticut, and a great partizan of the Americans, who, after the defeat upon the Lakes, offered his service to venture through the woods, and bring in prisoner an English officer, for which purpose he stationed himself among the thickest copses that are between *La Prairie* and St John's. The first officer who happened to pass him was Brigadier General Gordon; he was mounted on a spirited horse, and Whitcomb thinking there was little probability of seizing him, fired at and wounded him in the shoulder. The General immediately rode as fast as he could to the camp at St John's, which he had but just reached, when with loss of

blood and fatigue, he fell from his horse; some soldiers took him up and carried him to the hospital, where, after his wound was dressed, and he was a little at ease, he related the circumstance, which being immediately made known to General Carleton, a party of Indians were sent out to scour the woods, and search for Whitcomb, but in vain, as he hastened back to Ticonderoga. General Carleton, however, imagining he might be lurking about the woods, or secreted in the house of some disaffected Canadian, issued out a proclamation among the inhabitants, offering a reward of fifty guineas to any one that would bring Whitcomb, alive or dead, to the camp. A few days after this General Gordon died of his wound, in whose death we sincerely lamented the loss of a brave and experienced officer. When Whitcomb returned to Ticonderoga, and informed the General who commanded there, that although he could not take an officer prisoner, he believed he had mortally wounded one, the General expressed his disapprobation in the highest terms, and was so much displeased at the transaction, that Whitcomb, in order to effect a reconciliation, offered his service to go again, professing he would forfeit his life, if he did not return with a prisoner."

The American account as given by Wilkinson, Gates's aid, reflects much more strongly upon the perpetrator. Wilkinson calls him an assassin, intimates that he shot the British general in the hope of plunder, which is undoubtedly incorrect, and closes his narrative of the affair in this wise—"This abominable outrage on the customs of war and the laws of humanity, produced

^u. See Appendix 3.

narrowly escaped the same fate. The distance between *St. Johns* and *Montreal*, passing by *Chamblée*, is about 30 Miles: on this Road the Army lay encamped or Canton'd, but there was a shorter route by *La Prairie*, and this tho. unguarded, was thought secure from the distance & panic of the Enemy, and Officers constantly travell'd it without escorts. The *Rebels* having information of this circumstance and wishing for intelligence, detached one *Whitcomb*, with four others to way lay this Road, and they succeeded but too well. *Whitcomb* shot Gen'l *Gordon* when he might have taken him Prisoner. The day following he seized

a sensation of strong disgust in the army, and men of sensibility and honour did not conceal their abhorrence of its perpetrator. Yet it was impossible, in the temper of the times, to bring him to punishment, without disaffecting the fighting men on that whole frontier. But if he could not be punished consistently with sound policy, yet his promotion to a majority the ensuing winter, not only sanctioned the murder but rewarded the murderer."

Whitcomb's own report of his conduct is to be found in the *American Archives*, 5 Series, Vol. I, 828, and is entitled "A Journal of a Scout from Crown-Point, to *St. John's*, *Chambly*, &c., &c., by Lieutenant Benjamin *Whitcomb* and four men, as follows"; &c., &c. It covers the time from July 14th, the day of his setting out, to August 6th, the day of his return. The journal for July 23d, 24th, and 25th, is as follows: "Twenty-third, early in the morning, I returned to my former place of abode, staid there the whole day, saw

twenty three carts laden with barrels and tents going to *St. John's*. Twenty-fourth, staid at the same place till about twelve o'clock, then fired on an officer, and moved immediately into *Chambly* road; being discovered, retreated back into the woods and staid till night; then taking the road and passing the guards till I came below *Chambly*, finding myself discovered, was obliged to conceal myself in the brush till dark. The 25th instant, on which I made my escape by the guards, I saw upwards of forty carts preparing to go to *St. John's*, and I judge there were lying at that place and on the road about one full regiment of Regulars." From *Whitcomb's* manner of writing it would seem that he was ignorant of the character of the officer he had shot, at the time of making the entry in his journal.

Gen. *Gordon* died of his wounds Aug. 1st, and was buried at *Montreal* on the 3d, with full military honors. [B. H. M. T. 69. H. Y. 45. K. M. 58. F. E. 29. F. B. 20.]

& carried off, the Qr. Master^v of the 29th Reg't and a Noncommissioned Officer, who knew nothing of the late accident. *Whitcomb* returned by the edge of Lake Champlain and got safe into *Tyconderoga* with his Prisoners tho. pursued by the Savages.

A Flag of Truce arriving from the Rebels occasioned the following production.

"v. Alexander Saunders became the quarter-master of the 29th Foot, Sept. 17, 1775, and an ensign Feb. 27, 1776.¹ The American Lieut. Whitcomb with two men disguised as countermen, left *Ticonderoga* on a scout in August, 1776, and the following extract from his journal for Sept. 13, and some subsequent days, refers to Quarter-master Saunders. "13th, saw seventy-two *Indians*, armed, returning from *St. John's* fort *Montreal*. Before they were out of my sight, I saw two persons coming after them; when they came against me, I found them to be the enemy; I immediately stepped out and told them they were my prisoners, and must immediately go to *Ticonderoga* and see General Gates. They asked me whether I was not a *Canadian*, as they were sure I was no soldier. I told them soldier or not, they must go with me; and I immediately ordered them to march out of the road; and they then offered me sums of money to let them go. I told them I would not for all the money King *George* was worth. We marched that night about eight miles. The 14th, marched about twelve miles; 15th, came to the place where the vessels lay when I left them, and found them gone, which surprised the prisoners very much, as we were just out of provisions, and we were greatly afraid of starving. I told them their fleet had most certainly taken

ours or drove them off, with an intent to try them. They asked me the strength of our fleet; I told them; they said it was impossible for them to drive us, that our fleet had not gone far. We marched about six miles, and came in sight of a fleet, to a river which we could not pass. The *Indians* frequently came there to view our vessels and the ground being so wet in other places we were obliged to lie there that night, and sent off a man to the vessels, who arrived next day about ten o'clock with a *bateau*—he crossed the river on a small raft. 16th, we immediately went on board the *bateau*, and in about two hours got to the vessels." On the 21st they arrived at *Ticonderoga*.² Gen. Gates, in forwarding Lieut. Whitcomb's report to the president of congress under date of Sept. 30th, says; "Your Excellency will find in the packet an extract of Lieutenant *Whitcomb's* journal of his last scout to *St. John's*. I have taken Ensign and Quarter-master Saunders's parole, and ordered him and his servant, the corporal, to *Lancaster* in *Pennsylvania*. I must now beg leave to recommend Lieutenant *Whitcomb* as a very proper person to have the command of two independent companies of fifty men each, to be recruited by himself, and the officers to be commissioned agreeable to his recommendation. I never knew any man more

Orders by Gen'l Carlton.

Head Quarters Quebec Augt. 4th, 1776.

"The commanding Officers of Corps will take especial care that every one under their command be informed, that *Letters, or messages from Rebels, Traitors in Arms against the King, Rioters, disturbers of the public Peace, Plunderers, Robbers, Assassins, or Murderers*, are on no occasion to be admitted: That shou'd emmissaries from such lawless Men again presume to approach the

capable of doing good service in the ranging or scouting way, than Lieutenant *Whitcomb*; and his sobriety, honour, and truth, illustrate his military talents."³

The British Ensign Amburey, in his *Travels*, under date of June 12th, 1777, gives Saunders' version of his experience as follows, the extract from Amburey being a continuation of that given in the sketch of Gen. Gordon. "He," (*i. e.* Whitcomb) "accordingly, with two other men, proceeded down Lake Champlain, in a canoe, to a small creek, where they secreted it, and repaired to the woods, to the same spot where Whitcomb had stationed himself before; the two men lay concealed a little way in the wood, whilst he skulked about the borders of it. The regiment of which our friend S——— is Quarter-master, having occasion for some stores from Montreal, he was going from the camp at St. John's to procure them; he was advised not to go this road, but by way of Chamblee, on account of the late accident, but you know him to be a man of great bravery and personal courage, joined with uncommon strength; resolving not to go so many miles out of his road for any Whit-

comb whatever, he jocosely added, that he should be very glad to meet with him, as he was sure he should get the reward; in this, however, he was greatly mistaken, his reward being no other than that of being taken prisoner himself. Previous to his setting out he took every precaution, having not only loaded his fusée, but charged a brace of pistols; when he came near to the woods I have already described, he was very cautious, but in an instant, Whitcomb and the two men he had with him sprung from behind a thick bush, and seized him before he could make the least resistance; they then took from him his fusée and pistols, tied his arms behind him with ropes, and blind-folded him. It was three days before they reached the canoe that had been concealed, during which time they had but very scanty fare; a few hard biscuits served to allay hunger, while the fruit of the woods was a luxury! When Whitcomb had marched him to such a distance as he thought he could not make his escape, were he at liberty, through fear of losing himself, for the greater ease on his own part, and to facilitate their march, they untied his hands, and took

Army, whether under the name of Flag of Truce Men or Ambassadors except when they come to implore the King's mercy, their persons shall be immediately seized and committed to close confinement to be proceeded against as the Law directs: Their Papers & Letters for whomsoever directed (even this Com'r in Chief¹⁰) are to be deliver'd to the Provost Martial, that unread and unopen'd they may be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman; at the same time the Com'r in Chief expects, that, neither the assassination of

the cloth from his eyes. Only picture to yourself what must have been his feelings, at seeing himself in the midst of a thick wood, surrounded by three desperate fellows, and uncertain as to their intentions! At night, when they had partaken of their scanty pittance, two out of the three used to sleep, whilst the other kept watch. The first night he slept through fatigue; on the second, as you may naturally suppose, from his great anxiety of mind, he could not close his eyes, in the middle of which an opportunity occurred whereby he could have effected his escape, for the man whose watch it was, fell fast asleep. He has since told me how his mind wavered for a length of time, what measures to pursue; he could not bear the idea of putting them to death, though justified by the rules of war: if he escaped from them, they might in all probability retake and ill-treat him. The great hazard of all, which determined him to abide by his fate, was, that by being so many miles in a tract of wood, where he could not tell what direction to take (having been blind-folded when he entered it) he might possibly wander up and down till he perished with hunger. In this restless state, he remained till day-break, when they resumed their march, and in the

evening came to the creek where the canoe was concealed; they then secured him again, put him in the canoe, and proceeded up the lake to Ticonderoga, where they arrived early the next morning. When they landed him he was again blind-folded, that he might not see their works, and thus conducted to the General, whose only motive for endeavouring to get an officer was, either by threats or intreaties, to gain information relative to our army. In this, however, he was greatly disappointed, and as he could not obtain the least intelligence from our friend, he ordered him as prisoner of war upon his parole, to some of the interior towns, from which place, as I informed you in my last, he is just returned, as hearty and well as ever.¹⁴

Ensign Saunders was promoted to be lieutenant, May 10, 1781, and captain, Aug. 25, 1790. He appears as quartermaster for the last time in the Army List of 1792, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1794.¹ [¹ B. H. ² J. 482. ³ J. 615. ⁴ O. 258-263.]

¹⁰ Sir Wm. Howe was Com'r in Chief to the Southward of Canada. [*Hadden's Note.*]

Brig'r Gen'l Gordon, nor the late notorious breach of Faith in resolving not to return the Troops & Canadians taken at St John's in exchange for Rebels who fell into the hands of the Savages at the *Cedres* and *Quinchen*^x purchased from them at a great price and returned on the express conditions, be imputed to the Provinces at large but to a few wretched and designing Men who first deceived, then led the credulous Multitude to the brink of Ruin; afterwards usurp'd authority over them & established a despotic Tyranny by the general destruction of their Country. *Let* their crimes pursue these faithless bloody minded, who assert that *black* is *white*, and *white* black; it belongs to *Britons* to distinguish themselves not less by their humanity than their Valour. It belongs to the Kings Troops to *save* the blood of his deluded subjects whose greatest fault perhaps is having been deceived by such Men, to their own destruction: It belongs to the Crown, and it is the duty of all faithful Servants of the Crown to rescue from oppression and restore to liberty the once happy, Free and Loyal People of this Continent,

All Prisoners from the Rebellious Provinces who chuse to return home are to hold themselves in

x. The reader is referred to the sketch of Major Forster, to be found later on, for some description of the affair at the Cedars. *Quinchen*, a corruption of the French *Quinze Chiens*, was a place where

some of the prisoners taken at the Cedars were butchered by the savage allies of the British. The reference in the text is, practically, to but one affair, and that is to the Cedars.

readiness to be embarked at a short notice; Mr Commissary Murray^y shall visit the Transports destined for them and see that wholesome Provisions, necessary Cloathing with all possible conveniences for their passage be prepared for those unfortunate Men; they are to look on their respective *provinces* as their Prison, and there remain 'till further enlarged or summon'd to appear before the Commander in Chief of this Province or any other Com'r in Chief for the time being, which summons they shall obey; Gen'l Howe^z will regulate their place of landing. These Orders to be read by a Non commissioned Officer to every Company three different days.

(Signed) Edw'd Foy ^{aa}

Dep'y Adj. General.

Quebec is the capital of Canada a very strong tho. miserable looking place when in it. Sailing towards it, it has a very beautiful appearance. It is divided into an upper & lower Town, the pas-

y. Commissary Murray, it is presumed, was Lieut. James Murray, who was quarter-master of the 9th Foot. He became quarter master of the 9th, Jan. 18, 1770, and so continued till 1783, or early in 1784. He became an ensign in that regiment Sept. 26, 1772, and a lieutenant March 2, 1776. He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, where he served the remainder of that year; and he participated in Burgoyne's campaign the next year. He was wounded in Lieut. Col. Hill's attack on Fort Ann, July 9, 1777, and was included

in the Saratoga Convention, his name appearing on the Cambridge parole. He was promoted to be a captain March 31, 1787, and he appears on active service for the last time in the List of 1789, when he exchanged into the 94th Foot on half pay. He never re-entered active service, and he appears on the Army Lists for the last time in 1819. [B. H. G. V. 175.]

a. See Appendix 4

aa. See Appendix 5.

sage from one to the other is very steep, and being unpaved is dirty in wet weather and slippery in Frosty: at the time I saw it many of the Houses in the lower Town (which lays at the waters edge) were burnt. In the upper Town, there is a *Bishop's Palace*, House for the Governor, Barracks for Regiments, and some Convents of Nuns & Friars. The defences of the upper Town are seperated from those of the lower. Like most other American Town's, this is situate on a point of Land between the St Lawrence and Charles Rivers. these secure its Flanks and make an attack only possible towards the Country, on the *Plains of Abraham*, a little above which Gen'l Wolfe landed last War, and the French chose rather to risque a Battle than quietly give him possession of those heights, he was killed but the Army proved victorious, and the Garrison surrendered soon after. Batteries may be erected on *Point Levi* the opposite head land, the St Lawrence being here about 1000 yds. wide, and the two banks are nearly of a height, a numerous Garrison wou'd probably occupy both places, as otherwise they cou'd not effectually secure the Shipping.

The *Falls of Montmorency* are within a few Miles of Quebec & seen from it. *Trois Rivières* so called from three Rivers meeting at that place, is but a Village containing about 100 Houses & a place of no Trade. As *Quebec* receives and for-

wards up the Country all European produce, so, Montreal, the second Town in the Province, and 180 Miles above *Quebec*, receives all the Furs &c. coming from the Indian Country thro. the upper Lakes, from whence it is sent to Quebec or forwarded to the European Markets, most of the Indian Traders reside here, and the Congress's of Savages are usually held in this Place.

The Town of Montreal is built on an Island of that name 15 Miles long & about 9 Broad, very fertile and more highly cultivated than any other part of Canada: The Town contains several Convents and about 700 Houses, including the three suburbs, it is secured on one side by the River St Lawrence, and all around the Town is a Ditch defended by a Wall which can only repel a sudden attack being commanded in many places and every where liable to enfilade. There is a Citadel of more moddern work, and in the Town, near to it Barracks for about 1000 Men. The Situation is pleasant and healthy. The Water is uncommonly deep near the Town, and the Navigation only interrupted by a strong current, however, Vessels of 300 Ton come up and with a good Wind make way against the current.

As a proof of the Fertility of the Soil, the People throw all their dung on the *Ice* in order that it may float away when the Winter breaks up.

I was present at a Congress of Savages held here. The Men are in general tall, active &

well made, qualifactions absolutely necessary for a Race of Hunters : a small Tuft of Hair is left on the back part of their Heads, To which they fasten & wear a *feather* for every Scalp taken in War, the rest being pluckt out as soon as they are of an Age to go to War, during this operation the young Hero sings a War Song : Their Ears are slit and they wear a number of small Rings round their seperated Gristle, they also wear mock jewels &c. by way of Ear Rings, and the Gristle of the Nose being bored serves to support a small kind of *Silver Bob & Ring*. When prepared for War they paint themselves with Vermilion & other colours. Their dress is a Blanket and Arse Clout, or covering for the Privities ; at great War Dances they are sometimes totaly Naked, at the end of the *Penis* the head & Neck of some handsome bird is fasten'd, the Nation of *Fox Indians* were thus equiped on the present occasion, and some others had their Bodies painted in Stripes of different coulours. The Women wear no ornaments except to their Blankets, Leggings or Maugisons, all their Hair except on the ——— is suffered to grow unmolested and tied in a kind of long Club, with pieces of Red or Blue Cloth : The sprouts on a certain part are carefully pulled out with what is called an Indian Razor. This resembles a cork Screw except in having many more turns ; and being made of wire when compressed together lays hold of the devoted Hairs,

and being suddenly pulled off from the part carries them with it. The Men get rid of their Beards & all other superfluous Hair in this way. It is to be remarked that the natural inhabitants of the Southern parts of America and indeed all over it have few hairs except those on the Head. Their complexions are swarthy, and their Hair very coarse & black. They (particularly the Women) cover themselves with greese as a defence against ye Mousqueeto's & other Flies, this makes them far from tempting and we are therefore not surprised to see their Women employed in all Laborious occupations (even carrying their Provisions) except Hunting. The Barter with them is *Blankets* Cloth, Rum and Trinkets, these go up in Canoes which return loaded with Furs of various kinds. The Savages are immoderately fond of *Spirrits*, of this the Traders make their advantage, tho' sometimes in a state of intoxication the whole is seized and the unhappy Traders scalped. If the Indians have any Religion 'tis Roman Catholic and in many Towns a Priest of that persuasion lives with them. All the Interpreters are of that Religion; This might prove bad policy in case of a French attack.

The Indians are cunning and Treacherous, more remarkable for rapid marches and sudden attacks than Courage. I heard Gen'l Burgoyne ^{ab}

^{ab}. See Appendix 6.

declare that a Thousand Savages brought into the Field cost more than 20.000 Men. The Presents to them are usually Silver Bracelets, Gold laced Hats, & Coats, Feathers, Paints, Arms of various sorts &c, in all of which both Government and the Indians are much cheated by the Traders who on these occasions are Interpreters. The Time of amusing them with Tinsel & such Baubles is over they want useful or valuable Trinkets, and will always point to the Broach in their Shirt (a present some of the Nations occasionally use) that being Silver & of intrinsic value.

Their Arms are a Wooden Ball fixed to a handle, a Tommy hawk or hand hatchet, and a Scalping Knife. Those employed in our Service had a kind of light Musquet which they use very skilfully.

I shall conclude remarking that the most mischievous and treacherous *Nations* are those who are nearest & mix most with the Europeans; they acquire only our Vices & retain their ferocity.

The Navy were employed in attempts to carry Flat-bottom'd Vessels from *Chamblee* to St Johns, there to be launched for the expedition across Lake Champlain. They did not however succeed, and therefore Transported the Vessels in Pieces, & Batteaux's only were sent on Carriages.

During this time the Rebels with a Brigg they had taken from St. Johns, and Five other Vessels

advanced to *Point Au Fer*, in Lake Champlain but returned without attempting anything.

About the 5th of October everything being ready, a Fleet consisting of *One Ship*, Two Schooners, One Radeau *ac*, One Gondolas, and 22 Gun Boats, proceeded from St. Johns, up the *Sorel River*, to the entrance of Lake Champlain, at the *Isle Aux Noix* 15 Miles from St. Johns. They took in their Guns there being in many parts only 8 or 9 Feet water between those places. *Isle Aux Noix* is about a Mile in Length and 5 hundred Yds wide, very defensible, rising in the middle and being marshy near the water on both sides & ends; indeed on the *Sorel* side the opposite shore (about 600 yds) Batteries might be erected and of course greatly facilitate the reduction of the Island, which is the Frontier of Canada on that side, and prevents the passage of Shipping &c. to attack St. Johns the Frontier on the Continent. Works were thrown up here, a *Depot* of Provisions made & a Garrison left to secure it. The Fleet proceeded to *Point Au Fer* 18 Miles, leaving the Army encamped at River *La Cole* 9 Miles short of it on the Eastern *ad* shore of the

ac. "The Thunderer (a radeau), of 14 heavy guns.....The Radeau was an unique structure which is often mentioned in the naval annals of the northern lakes. It was scarcely more than a raft or floating battery, but constructed with great solidity and strength. It was protected only by low and slight bulwarks, but armed with the heaviest ordnance;

it was a powerful and effective craft."
[N. 440.]

ad. The river la Colle, or la Cole as Hadden calls it, is on the western and not on the eastern shore of the lake. Hadden seemed to think he was going north instead of south, as he more than once calls the west the east shore.

Lake. There was also a post taken at point *Au Fer*, a Block House erected and four Companies left to defend it. The 10th Oct'r the Fleet proceeded to the Southern end of *Isle au Mot* on the Eastern side of Lake Champlain, which afterwards widens very considerably, to about 12 or 15 Miles in many places. The 11th Oct'r the Army arrived at Point Au Fer under Gen'l Burgoyne, and early in the morning the Fleet proceeded under Gen'l Carlton *ac* & Captain Pringle *of* of the Navy.

ac. See Appendix 7.

of. Thomas Pringle came from an old Scotch family, many of whose members attained high and honorable positions. He was a great-grandson of Sir Robert Pringle, Bart., of the house of Stichel, and the only son of Walter Pringle, an eminent West India merchant and planter in St. Kitt's, who married a Miss Liderdale.¹

Mention of Thomas Pringle in connection with the British navy is first found as commander of the armed ship *Lord Howe*, in Sept., 1776.² Later in that month the British squadron on Lake Champlain was put under his command, and he took the *Maria*, of 14 guns, as his flag-ship. He was ready to sail about Oct. 1st; and Oct. 11th-13th he signally defeated the American fleet under Benedict Arnold, capturing or destroying a number of vessels, and forcing the remainder to take refuge under the guns of Crown Point.³ Towards the middle of November he sailed for Europe as the bearer of despatches⁴, and he became a post-captain Nov. 25, 1776.⁵ In the following January, when the *Ariadne*, a new ship of 20 guns, was put in commission at Chatham, Capt. Pringle was assigned to com-

mand her⁶, and the next month he sailed to join the fleet of observation.⁷ A little later he proceeded with the convoy for Portugal and Gibraltar⁸, and then joined the West India fleet. During this year the *Ariadne* captured two American armed vessels, the *St. Peter*, of 26 guns, and the *Gen. Washington*, of 18 guns.⁹ On the 9th of March, 1778, Capt. Pringle in the *Ariadne*, together with the *Ceres*, of 18 guns, under Capt. Dacres, engaged and captured the American cruiser *Alfred*, of 20 nine-pounders, and 108 men. The *Alfred's* consort, the *Raleigh*, of 32 guns, abandoned the *Alfred* without a shot and made good her escape.¹⁰ Throughout this year the *Ariadne* was attached to Admiral Young's, afterwards Rear-Admiral Barrington's fleet at the Leeward Islands, where she took many prizes, among them the *Mosketo*, John Harris, commander, of 98 tons and 74 men, belonging to Virginia; the *Marangoon*, John Welsh, commander, of 70 tons and 50 men, likewise of Virginia; and the *Johnstone*, Charles Strachehen and Thomas Williams, commanders, of 60 tons and 30 men — "a piratical armed vessel;" besides driving two American privateers on shore at the island of Guadeloupe.¹¹

A large Detachment of Savages under Major

Capt. Pringle's most important service during this year, however, was in capturing a French frigate, of 28 guns and 248 men, which he took twenty-four leagues to the north of Jamaica, after an engagement of an hour and a half. The Frenchman had 24 men killed and 47 wounded, her bowsprit carried away by the first broadside, and her fore and mizen masts shot away by the board. The *Ariadne* had 8 men killed and 16 wounded, and the lieutenant of *Maïnes* slightly wounded in the foot.¹² Capt. Pringle also bore a part in the naval engagement of Dec. 15, 1778, when Count D'Estaing's French fleet twice unsuccessfully attacked Rear-Admiral Barrington.¹³ The *Ariadne* continued to form a part of the West India fleet in 1779, then under the command of the Hon. John Byron, vice-admiral of the Blue; and in the sea fight off Grenada with the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing July 6th, Capt. Pringle participated, his vessel being in the Center Division.¹⁴ In July, 1780, he was appointed to the command of the *Daedalus*, a new ship of 31 guns, then fitting for sea at Liverpool.¹⁵ In this vessel he sailed for North America and formed part of Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet in 1781¹⁶, and of Admiral Digby's fleet in 1782, returning to England at the close of that, or the beginning of the following year.

Capt. Pringle was a member of the court-martial to try the mutineers on board the *Raisonable* at Chatham in the spring of 1783¹⁷; and then all trace of him is lost till 1790, when he was captain of the Royal George, of 100 guns, then Admiral Barrington's flag ship.¹⁸ April 1, 1794, he was commissioned as colonel of his Majesty's Marine Forces¹⁹; and in the naval operations of the Channel fleet under Lord Howe, which culminated on the 1st of June, 1794, in a brilliant victory over the French fleet under

Admiral Villaret off Ushant, he bore a distinguished part, for which he received a medal, being then in command of the *Valiant*, of 74 guns.²⁰ June 4th of this year he was made a rear-admiral of the Blue²¹, and June 1, 1795, a rear-admiral of the Red²², about which time he had his flag in the North Sea.²³ In May, 1796, Rear-Admiral Pringle sailed to take command at the Cape of Good Hope, and in October of the following year his fleet broke into acts of mutiny while lying at anchor in Table Bay. The trouble originated on board the flag-ship *Tremendous*, of 74 guns, by the crew's rising upon and confining the officers and threatening to try Capt. Stephens by a court-martial composed of seamen and delegates, on charges of cruelty and misconduct as their captain. In the first instance the mutiny was quickly suppressed, and a free pardon granted, but, a little later, upon one of the crew of the *Tremendous* being ordered into confinement for a month for drunkenness, it broke out anew. The crew showed great indignation at this sentence, and rose again in open mutiny. A council was held on shore, at which the governor, Lord M'Cartney, Gen. Dundas, and Admiral Pringle were present, and it was resolved to use force and the most decisive measures to reduce the mutineers to obedience, and punish the ring leaders. All the batteries were manned, and furnaces were prepared for firing hot shot. One hundred pieces of cannon were pointed at the *Tremendous*, and every thing being ready to begin the attack, a proclamation was issued at seven o'clock in the morning, and two hours were allowed to the crew to determine whether they would submit. Ten minutes before the expiration of the time, finding they had no alternative but to be sunk or surrender, they hoisted the signal of submission. The delegates were given up, some of whom

Carlton^{ay} also moved with the Fleet in their Canoes, which were very regularly ranged. These Canoes are made of the *Birch Bark*, and some of them brought 1500 Miles down the

were hanged, and others flogged through the fleet, and perfect good order was speedily restored.²¹

Feb. 14, 1799, Rear-Admiral Pringle was promoted to be a vice-admiral of the White, and Jan. 1, 1801, to be a vice-admiral of the Red.²² He died at Edinburgh Dec. 8, 1803.²³ [1 I. Z. App. 191 *et post.* ²⁴ A. Q. 145; G. V. 110. ²⁵ M. F. 270-272; K. F. 220, 221. ²⁶ K. M. 83. ²⁷ A. T. 47. ²⁸ H. G. 106. ²⁹ H. G. 202. ³⁰ H. G. 406. ³¹ H. I. 186. ³² M. H. 274. ³³ M. H. 140. ³⁴ H. J. 458. ³⁵ H. K. 286. ³⁶ A. R. 160, note 127. ³⁷ H. N. 58. ³⁸ A. R. 270, note 219. ³⁹ A. R. 418, note 338. ⁴⁰ J. X. 19 Y. 68*. ⁴¹ K. Z. 253; A. 357 *et post.* ⁴² Y. ⁴³ Z. 67*. ⁴⁴ B. G. 42, 169, 170. ⁴⁵ A. A.: A. B.: E. C. 1193.]

eg. Thomas Carleton was a younger brother of Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, being the fourth son of Christopher and Catherine (Ball) Carleton, of Newry, Ireland.¹ He was born in 1732², and like his elder brothers entered the army; his first commission, that of ensign in the 20th Foot, bearing date Feb. 12, 1755. He was promoted to be a lieutenant, Dec. 27, 1755, adjutant, Feb. 16, 1756; and a captain, Aug. 27, 1759. He became a major in the army, July 23, 1772³; accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776; and on the 8th of May, in that year, was appointed quarter-master general of the army in that province.⁴ Major Carleton became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, July 31, 1776; and the lieutenant-colonel of the 29th Foot on the 2d of the following August.⁵ For a characteristic anecdote of this officer see Ambury's *Travels in America*, Vol. I, p. 183. During the pursuit of

the Americans in the autumn of 1776, Lieut.-Col. Carleton seems, from Hadden, to have been in the advance, and to have had command of the Indians. He accompanied Burgoyne on his expedition in 1777, but returned to Canada in August, as Sir Guy Carleton required the services of his quarter-master general in making up his accounts preparatory to his being relieved, as he was then expecting his successor at an early day.⁶

Campbell, in his *Annals of Tryon County*, says,—“In the spring of 1778 Lafayette was stationed at Albany; in March he went up to Johnstown, from which place he wrote Col. Gansevoort a letter, dated March 6th, 1778. This letter was enclosed in a letter from Col. Livingston of the same date, of which the following is an extract:

““Enclosed you have a letter from Major Gen. Marquess De Lafayette, relative to Col. Carleton, nephew to Gen. Carleton, who has for sometime been in this part of the country as a spy. The general apprehends he has taken his route by way of Oswego, and begs you'll send out such parties as you may judge necessary for apprehending him.”

“The following is the letter of Lafayette:—

““Sir: As the taking of Col. Carleton is of the greatest importance, I wish you would try every means in your power to have him apprehended. I have desired Col. Livingston, who knows him, to let you have any intelligence he can give, and join to them those I have got by a tory about the dress and figure of Carleton. You may send as many parties as you please, and everywhere you'll think proper, and do every convenient thing for discovering him. I

Country, several of which wou'd contain 30 People. The Savages *paddle* them across the Lakes & down the Rivers with great dexterity, and being very light they are carried across any

dare say he knows that we are after him, and has nothing in view but to escape, which I beg you to prevent by all means. You may promise, in my name, fifty guineas hard money, besides all money, &c., they can find about Carleton, to any party of soldiers or Indians who will bring him alive. As every one knows now what we send for, there is no inconvenience to scatter them in the country, which reward is promised in order to stimulate the Indians.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"*The Marquis DE LAFAYETTE.*"

"Col. Carleton was not apprehended."

Col. Livingston was undoubtedly mistaken in calling the officer referred to, a nephew of Gen. Carleton, as Christopher Carleton, the General's nephew, was only a major at this time.

Mr. F. B. Hough, in referring to the above incident in the Northern Invasion of October, 1780, it seems to us, likewise confuses Thomas Carleton with Christopher Carleton when he says— "Although mentioned under a different rank we conjecture that he was the same officer that led the expedition by way of Lake Champlain in the autumn of 1780." As Thomas Carleton was a lieutenant-colonel at that time, and Christopher a major, and both were in Canada and belonged to the same regiment, it is quite unnecessary to conjecture that, when Col. Carleton is mentioned, Major Carleton is intended.

In 1778 Lieut.-Col. Carleton had command at Montreal; and he continued to serve in Canada till Sept. 22, 1782, when he obtained Sir Frederick Haldimand's permission to go to New York, where Sir

Guy Carleton was serving as commander in chief of the British forces in America.⁶

When the new province of New Brunswick (so called out of compliment to the reigning family of England) was created in 1784, Lieut.-Col. Carleton was appointed its first governor, and he arrived at St. John's, the seat of his new government, on the 21st of November in that year.⁷ Col. Thomas Dundas, who, as a member of the Board of Commissioners for deciding upon the claims of the American Loyalists, was engaged in investigating some of the details on the spot, in writing about the country to the Earl Cornwallis from St. John's, N. B. under date of Dec. 28, 1786, says:—"Mr. Carleton, by his own attention and firmness, assisted by a well chosen council, has established good government."⁸

On the 2d of May, 1783, Lieut.-Col. Carleton married Harriet, daughter of — Van Horn of New York, and widow of Capt. Edward Foy of the Royal Artillery, by whom he had issue a son, William, and two daughters.⁹

He became lieut.-col. of the 5th Foot Sept. 26, 1788; a major-general, Oct. 12, 1793; colonel commandant of the 2d Battalion of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment, Aug. 6, 1794; a lieut.-general, Jan. 1, 1798; and a general, Sept. 25, 1803.³ He died Feb. 2, 1817, aged 85 years.⁹

As this officer is often confused with his nephew, Christopher Carleton, some notice of the latter, in this connection, may not be amiss.

Christopher Carleton was a nephew of Sir Guy Carleton, being the son of Sir Guy's eldest brother, William, a captain

breaks in the Water communication; they land every Night most of which they dance and Sing: In wet weather they prop up one side & lay under the Canoe.

in the 18th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot, who, with his wife, the mother of Christopher, was drowned at sea about the year 1753.¹⁰ Christopher Carleton was born at Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1749, and entered the British army as an ensign, Dec. 12, 1761; but the Army Lists do not inform us to what regiment he was attached prior to Feb. 12, 1762, when he was commissioned as an ensign in the 31st Foot. In that corps he was promoted to be lieutenant, July 29, 1763; captain-lieutenant, Dec. 25, 1770; captain, May 25, 1772; and major of the 29th Foot, Sept. 13, 1777.¹¹ He accompanied the 31st to America in the spring of 1776, was appointed an aid de camp on the staff of Sir Guy Carleton, May 11th of that year, and served in Canada and on the northern frontier during the remainder of the Revolutionary war. When the British invaded the northern frontier of New York in October, 1780, Major Carleton had command of the force which crossed Champlain, and which consisted of about 1,000 men, regulars, Loyalists and Indians. He proceeded up the lake from St. John's with a fleet of eight vessels and twenty-six boats, and having landed in South Bay, suddenly appeared before Fort Ann on the 10th of October, and demanded its surrender; to which demand the garrison acceded, as it consisted of only 75 men, officers included, with but a scanty supply of ammunition. This fort, which was only a block house rudely built of logs and enclosed by a stockade was burned; and marauding parties were sent out, who burnt and destroyed portions of the settlements of Kingsbury, Queensbury and Fort Edward. Major Carleton appeared before Fort George on the 11th, though

not without some loss from the fire of the garrison; but as this post was not in condition for vigorous resistance, or a protracted siege, and no relief being in prospect, it speedily surrendered.¹²

Gen. Haldimand, the governor general of Canada, in writing to Lord George Germaine about this expedition, under date of Oct. 25, 1780, says:—"Major Carleton, who has, as well as his detachment, shown great zeal and activity in this affair, having fully answered the purposes for which he is sent, is returned to Crown Point, where he is to remain as long as the season will permit the vessels to navigate the lake, in order to draw the attention of the enemy."¹³ Major Carleton was charged with cruelty on this expedition by the American Col. Gansevoort, an accusation which was vigorously denied, and the correspondence relating thereto can be found in Stone's *Life of Brant*, Vol. II, p. 133 *et pass.*

Major Carleton became a lieutenant-colonel in the army Feb. 19, 1783; and he died at Quebec, Thursday night, June 14, 1787.¹⁴ For the last eleven years of his life he served in Canada with an occasional visit only to England, and he returned to Quebec for the last time from one of these visits Oct. 18, 1786, in the ship *Carleton*, accompanied by his wife, Lady Anne Carleton, who was the second daughter of the second Earl of Effingham, and an elder sister of the wife of Sir Guy Carleton, and who, after the death of her husband, returned to England in the ship *London*, sailing from Quebec, July 11, 1788.^{15, 16} [¹⁷B. R. 5C. U. 291 note. ¹⁸B. H. 4F. E. 1. 5F. B. 629, 666. ¹⁹F. L. 163; F. E. 203. ²⁰L. R. 329. ²¹C. D. 113. ²²E. M. 187. ²³C. D. 112. ²⁴G. K. ²⁵H. O. 25. ²⁶J. T. ²⁷J. S.: J. V.]

About 11 o'clock this morning One of the Enemies Vessels was discover'd, and immediately pursued into a Bay on the Eastern^{ah} shore of the Lake, where the rest of their Fleet was found at an Anchor in ye form of a Crescent, between *Valcour Island* and the Continent. Their Fleet consisted of 3 Row Gallies, 2 Schooners, 2 Sloops, and 8 Gondolas, carrying in all 90 Guns. That of the British carried only 87 Pieces of Ordnance including 8 Howitzers. The pursuit of this Vessel was without order or regularity, the wind being fair to go down^{ai} the Lake enabled us to overtake the Vessel before she cou'd (by Tacks) get in to the rest of their Fleet; but lost to us the opportunity of going in at the upper end of the *Island* and attacking the whole at once. The Vessel which proved to be the *Royal Savage* taken by them from St. John's last year, carrying 14 Guns, was run on shore and most of the Men escaped on to *Valcour Island*, in effecting which they were fired upon by the Gun Boats, this firing at one object drew us all in a cluster and four of the Enemies Vessels getting under weigh to support the *Royal Savage* fired upon the Boats with success. An order was therefore given by the

^{ah}. This clearly is a clerical error as *Valcour Bay* is on the west, and not on the east shore of the lake, and in that way Hadden, in his map, correctly delineates it.

^{ai}. Hadden means *up* and *not* down the lake, as the context clearly shows;

Lake Champlain, unlike the Hudson river which is so near it, running from south to north and emptying into the river St. Lawrence. We have already seen from his calling the west shore the east, that he had confused the points of the compass.

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Commanding Officer for the Boats to form across the Bay: this was soon effected tho' under the Enemies whole fire and unsupported, all the King's Vessels having dropped too far to *Leeward*. This unequal combat was maintained for two Hours without any aid, when the *Carlton* Schooner of 14 Guns 6 Prs got into the Bay and immediately received the Enemies whole fire which was continued without intermission for about an hour, when the Boats of the Fleet towed her off, and left the Gun Boats to maintain the conflict, this was done 'till the Boats had expended their Ammunition when they were withdrawn, having *sunk* one of the Enemies Gondolas, (Killed or Wounded Seventy Men) and considerably damaged others. Being small objects the loss in the Gun Boats was inconsiderable, 20 *Men*, (a German Gun Boat blown up). Each Gun Boat carried 1 Gun in the Bow (or Howitzer) 7 Artillery Men, and 11 Seamen, the whole under an Artillery officer. It was found that the Boat's advantage was not to come nearer than about 700 yards, as whenever they approached nearer, they were greatly annoyed by Grape Shot, tho' their Case could do little mischief. Each Boat had 80 Rounds of Ammunition, 30 of which were Case Shot, & cou'd not be used with effect. The Boats were now form'd between the Vessels of the British Fleet, just without the Enemies Shot; being withdrawn a little before Sunset & the

Royal Savage blown up: this last was an unnecessary measure as she might at a more leisure moment have been got off; or at all events her stores saved, and in her present position no use cou'd be made of her by the Enemy, Night coming on & a determination to make a general attack early next morning. The Rebels having no land Force, the *Savage's* took post on the *Main & Valcour Island*, thus being upon both Flanks they were able to annoy them in the working of their Guns, this had the effect of now & then obliging the Rebels to turn a Gun that way, which danger the *Savages* avoided by getting behind trees. The Boats having received a small supply of Ammunition were unaccountably order'd to Anchor under cover of a small Island without the opening of the Bay.

The Enemy finding their force diminish'd and the rest so severely handled by little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the British Fleet determin'd to withdraw towards *Crown Point*, and passing thro. our Fleet about 10 o'clock at Night effected it undiscover'd; this, the former position of the Gun Boats wou'd probably have prevented. All the Enemies Vessels used *Oars* & on this occasion they were muffled. This retreat did great honor to *Gen'l Arnold* aj,

aj. Benedict Arnold's career is so familiar to American readers that reference will be made only to two or three points about which historians are not agreed.

Some question has been raised as to the course Arnold's fleet took on the retreat from Valcour Bay. Notwithstanding Gen. Waterbury's very explicit statement that "we immediately held council to

who acted as Admiral to the Rebel Fleet on this occasion; The wind changing prevented the success of his attempt and making but little way in

secure a retreat through their fleet, to get to Crown Point, which was done with so much secrecy that we went through them entirely undiscovered," Mr Winslow C. Watson, in an article entitled "Naval Campaign on Lake Champlain in 1776," printed in the *American Historical Record* for November, 1874, p. 502, and again in an article entitled "Arnold's Retreat after the Battle of Valcour," printed in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. vi, p. 414 [June, 1881,] contends that Arnold's fleet escaped by rounding the northerly end of Valcour Island; thus evading the enemy's fleet, and not passing through it at all.

Palmer's History of Lake Champlain, p. 129, likewise says,—"At seven o'clock in the evening Colonel Wigglesworth got the Trumbull under way, and bearing around the north end of Valcour, directed his course towards the upper end of the lake, passing outside of the British line."

Hadden, in the text, like Waterbury, uses the word *through*, which would ordinarily seem to be explicit enough to avoid misapprehension, and he has fortunately left a drawing showing the position of the British ships and gunboats, and giving the course of the American fleet. His drawing and his explanation of the circumstances that made the escape of the Americans through the British fleet possible, effectually settle a mooted point.

Hadden's map, or "Sketch of the Action in Lake Champlain 11 Oct., 1776," is evidently taken from "A Survey of Lake Champlain, including Lake George, Crown Point and St. John. Surveyed by Order of His Excellency Major General S^r Jeffery Amherst. Knight of the most Hon^{ble} Order of the Bath, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, (now Lord Amherst) by William

Brassier, Draughtsman. 1762." That survey, with additions showing the naval operations of the year 1776, including the battle of Valcour Bay, together with the formation of the two fleets, the line of the American retreat to Crown Point, the place of the action on the 13th, the place where Arnold ran the Congress ashore, and the subsequent withdrawal to Ticonderoga, is to be found in "The American Military Pocket Atlas; being an approved Collection of Correct Maps, both general and particular, of The British Colonies, Especially those which now are, or probably may be, The Theatre of War; Taken principally from the actual Surveys and judicious Observations of Engineers De Brahm and Romana; Cook, Jackson, and Collet; Maj. Holland, and other Officers, employed in His Majesty's Fleets and Armies. London." There is no date on the title page, but, as the editor's dedication to Gov. Pownall is dated "Fleet Street, 1776," the Atlas was undoubtedly issued in London in the winter of 1776-7.

Two things are plain: one is that Hadden had Brassier's Survey of 1762 as the basis of his map; and the other is that the revision in the Atlas was either made from Hadden's map, or else both were drawn from a third source, of which we are ignorant. The fact that Hadden's map does not show the *whole* course to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, possibly militates against the Atlas's revision having been taken from it, though the part Hadden does not give, is so simple that it could easily enough have been traced or described roughly without a map to go by to enable one to delineate it on Brassier's Survey. It must be remembered that Hadden, having been at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, had

the Night, they were scarcely out of sight when their retreat was discover'd at day break; the British Fleet stood after them, and gain'd ground

received the same education as the members of the Engineer Corps, the only difference being that the cadets of highest rank in their class entered the Royal Engineers, while the rest went into the Royal Artillery.

Clearly Hadden's map was not taken from the Atlas revision; for, being on a little more than four times the scale of the latter, it gives many details of outline and position that does not give. Thus Hadden represents the position of the whole fifteen American vessels, twelve being in line, two in rear of the line, probably to look out more particularly for the approach around the north end of Valcour Island, and the Royal Savage having been forced on shore by the British while trying to join the American fleet. Hadden, also, shows a small islet just at the south point of Valcour Island on which the Royal Savage was run ashore and destroyed, whereas the Atlas, instead of showing it, uses these words in regard to Valcour Island—"Isle de Valcour almost one rock." Hadden, in representing the line the gunboats formed the latter part of Oct. 11th, while they were in action, delineates, whether intentionally or not, twenty boats; but as he states that twenty-two left St. Johns, and as one of them had been blown up in action, he leaves one unaccounted for if his drawing intended to portray the exact number. Capt. Douglas, however, commodore of the British war vessels in the St. Lawrence, reported twenty gunboats and four long boats, each carrying a single gun, in the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The Atlas does not attempt to show the exact number of gunboats in line, but says, in the marginal reference, there were twenty-one.

If the American Military Pocket Atlas's revision of Brassier's Survey was not taken from Hadden's map, it constitutes another contemporaneous authority against the view of Watson and Palmer, that Arnold rounded the northerly point of Valcour Island on his escape to Crown Point; and as Gen. Waterbury and the crews of the galley Washington and gondola Jersey were captured, the British must have known the exact line of retreat as well as though they themselves had been on board the American fleet.

Not only is the weight of authority, but a nautical reason also, it seems to us, is opposed to the view that Arnold retreated round the north end of Valcour Island. That island, according to Haskell and Smith's Gazetteer of the United States, is two and a-half miles long, and half a mile wide, and the two maps we have of the action, portray Arnold's fleet drawn up across the bay about midway of the island, or a mile and a quarter, at the least, from its northerly end. The several accounts of the battle that refer to the wind, Oct. 11th, show that it was from the northward—at all events, so that sailing vessels could not make progress towards the north without beating or tacking. Arnold, the American commander, speaks of the Royal Savage falling to the leeward of the fleet and being attacked. He also says "some of the enemy's ships and all their gondolas beat and rowed up within musket shot of us." Capt. Pringle, the British commander, says, "the wind was so unfavourable, that for a considerable time nothing could be brought into action with them but the gunboats," though the Carleton by much perseverance at last got to their assistance

considerably 'till the violence of the wind and a great swell obliged both Fleets to Anchor: to-wards evening the weather was more moderate

but none of the rest of the fleet could then get up. Hadden in speaking of the Royal Savage, says, "the wind being fair to go down the Lake enabled us to overtake the Vessel before she cou'd (by Tacks) get into the rest of their Fleet; but lost to us the opportunity of going in at the upper end of the *Island* and attacking the whole at once." Hadden's mistake in using *down* for *up* the lake, is transparent, and we have already seen from his calling the western shore, the eastern, that he had confused the points of the compass. Fortunately his error exposes itself, and can mislead no one. What wind there was evidently came from the north, for Hadden, after according praise to Arnold for his retreat, says, "the wind changing prevented the success of the attempt;" and Arnold, in speaking of the wind on the 12th, says, it was "small to the southward." The wind being from the northward on the evening of the 11th, was just right to go up the lake towards Crown Point, but would have prevented Arnold's fleet from going north round Valcour Island except by beating or tacking—a slow and not very easy way of proceeding in the night, and, moreover, a longer course by several miles. Hadden says Arnold's fleet used muffled oars; but whether because the wind was so light, or because spreading sail would cause the vessels to be more easily discovered, he does not say. While oars would assist materially in a calm, or light favoring wind, or without any sail being set, yet, if Arnold had been rounding the northerly end of Valcour Island against the wind, they would hardly have served his purpose, especially with his heaviest and most dilapidated vessels. For these reasons, apart from the maps showing the exact

course, it seems to us that when Gen. Waterbury said they went *through* the British fleet, he meant just what he said; and it also appears to us a perfectly natural and characteristic act for a bold man, like Arnold, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose, for it was his only chance; and it was no more daring or desperate than many naval feats during our late civil war, indeed, not so much so; and its success proved its entire feasibility.

Much discussion has taken place as to whether Arnold was personally present at the battle of Freeman's Farm Sept. 19, 1777. Col. (afterwards General) Wilkinson is authority for the assertion that Arnold was not on the battle field, as under date of Sept. 21st, he wrote to St. Clair in regard to the affair of the 19th, "General Arnold was not out of camp during the whole action." It is to be regretted that we have a no more reliable statement than Wilkinson's on which to rest one side of a mooted point, as his assertions are not unfrequently warped by prejudice and conceit, and in some cases are utterly unreliable. In writing the above he was addressing an avowed enemy of Arnold, while he himself was strongly prejudiced against him. Oct. 7th Wilkinson again wrote to St. Clair and said, "Generals Gates and Arnold have differed beyond reconciliation. As I, too, have a quarrel with the little man, I will not expose his conduct."¹ Unfortunately Arnold's subsequent career destroyed all respect for him, and prepared every patriotic mind to believe anything to his discredit; but the truth of history is not to be sacrificed in order to cast odium, however well merited, upon any man, and it is by no means easy for an American calmly to weigh and judiciously determine facts,

& the Fleet proceeded, the *Boats* using their Oars to make head against the Wind; the Rebel Vessels gaining little way when under Sail from the

that may enure to the credit of Benedict Arnold.

If it be true, as stated by some writers, that no general was on the field during the action, and that regiment after regiment was allowed to engage in the absence of a general officer, it was a most remarkable state of things and a striking, but by no means flattering, commentary upon Gen. Gates, as few commanding generals would have been guilty of allowing a division to engage in the absence of all general officers and without the troops being under some recognized head. No wonder that the military instincts of Gen. Carrington, in his "Battles of the American Revolution," led him to say, p. 342—"To what extent General Arnold accompanied the successive portions of his division, which bore the brunt of this day's fight, is not clearly or uniformly defined by historians. That contemporaneous history gave his division credit, is nowhere questioned; and that he was a listless observer or remained in camp regardless of the fact that he was responsible for the entire left wing, which was then assailed, is perfectly inconsistent with his nature and the position he occupied." Gen. Jacob Bailey wrote from "Castle town" to the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire, Sept. 22d, three days after the battle, as follows—"General Arnold has fought the right wing of General Burgoyne, won three field pieces, and 250 prisoners—great loss on both sides." It is clear, therefore, that Gen. Arnold was reported and credited, at the time, by the troops in the Northern Department, as commanding in the action.

The newspapers of the day evidently believed that Arnold was present, as the *Boston Gazette* in its issue for September 29th, 1777, in describing the battle of

the 19th, among other things, says,—“At three o'clock the enemy being re-inforced, renewed the attack; our troops being at the same time supported by the left wing of the army, consisting of the whole of Gen. Arnold's division, received them warmly; and though the enemy brought on their whole force against not more than half ours, maintained their ground till night, when both parties retired.”

The following order issued by Arnold the day after the action, found in a manuscript Orderly Book kept by Colonel Thaddeus Cook of Wallingford, Conn., now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, for the use of which we are under obligations to that ancient and honorable society, and which order we have never seen in print, seems to be inconsistent with Gen. Arnold's absence from the battle field; though the thickness of the woods may have prevented his taking any very conspicuous part. The order, in Col. Cook's copy of which there doubtless were some clerical errors, reads as follows: "Division Orders 20th Sept. A. D. 1777.

"Gen'l Arnold returns his thanks to the Officers & Soldiers of his Division for their brave spirited conduct yesterday in withstanding the force of the British army, whose loss a Deserter from their army says is upwards of one thousand men kill'd and wounded—which ours is very trifling, not one fourth Part of the Enemies—a convincing Proof of the Mercifull Interposition of Heaven in Covering our heads in the day of Battle and loudly calls for our grateful acknowledgements. The Gen'l observ'd yesterday that two many officers that Zeal and Spirit push'd on in the front of their Companies, whose business it was to have brought up those in the Rear, and

Violence of a contrary Wind and thinking we were at an Anchor remain'd so all Night, and tho. the British Fleet gained but little by a contrary conduct that little enabled them to overtake the Enemy next day when the wind proved fair, our *Ship & Schooners* being better. Sailers first came up with the Rebel Fleet and retarding their movements 'till the whole were in sight. *Three* of the Stern-most Vessels ^{ak} struck their Colours, in one of which was Brig'r Gen'l Waterbury ^{al} their second in Command, *Arnold* ran his own Vessel & 5 others on shore and set fire to them, the *three foremost* only escaped to Tyconderoga; as did Gen'l Arnold with most of the Crew's of the burnt Vessels. Next morning the *Rangers & Indians* landed and took possession of Crown Point, evacuated by the Enemy the preceding Night. Two or three days afterwards the Army

hopes they will in future observe their proper stations and suffer no man to Retreat untill an order is given by the Commanding officer of the Reg't or Detachments—those who are found to have deserted their Posts in time of Action may expect Instant Death.

"The Gen'l makes no doubt the Troops will act with a spirit and firmness becoming freemen struggling for their just Rights & Liberties when they are call'd out again which they may expect every moment and wishes them to make every necessary Preparation."

If Gen. Arnold was not present, how could he have noticed that their zeal and spirit pushed too many officers on in front of their companies, whose business it was to have brought up them in the rear? [¹K. W. 443, 444. ²C. S.: B. D.]

^{ak}. These were the galley Washington, and the gondolas Jersey and Lee. Sir Guy Carleton reported to Lord Germaine, Oct. 14, 1776, the capture of the Washington and Jersey. Of the Lee he said—"Run into a bay, and not known whether destroyed." The Lee proved to have been captured, though Sir Guy did not then know it; and in Bearson's Naval and Military Memoirs, Vol. 6, p. 65, note 55, we find the brig Washington and sloop Jersey and Lee included in "A List of his Majesty's armed Vessels, Boats, &c., which brought the army under General Burgoyne, over Lake Champlain, in campaign 1777."

^{al}. See Appendix 8.

arrived and took post on *Crown Point*, and *Windmill Point* immediately opposite to it at the distance of about 1400 yards: the Lake here narrowing into a River. Gen'l Carlton thank'd the Officers &c for their spirited conduct, and Gen'l Burgoyne gave out the following order to the Army on the occasion.

Camp at Sandy Creek, Lake
Champlain 16th Oct'r 1776.

Lieut. Gen'l Burgoyne having received intelligence of the late victory obtained by the Commander in Chief in Person, takes the first moment to communicate to the army, that of Sixteen Vessels^{am} of which the Rebel Fleet consisted before the Action Three only escaped, all the rest being taken or destroyed. The importance of the conquest is not greater to the National cause than is the glory atchieved to his Majesties Arms, conspicuous by the general Bravery of the Officers & Men.

It is a part of magnanimity to spare publick demonstrations of triumph upon the present occasion, but it is not doubted the Army will be affected with every sentiment the Brave are accustomed to feel, for great and glorious examples.

Finis.

^{am.} There was one not engaged and taken with Provisions. [*Haaden's Note.*]

Upon the whole the British Fleet was fully a match for the Enemy, and the exertions were those of individuals, no orders being given to withdraw the Boats 'till their Ammunition was expended, and the impossibility of a supply, made a reserve for a second Action absolutely necessary to prevent the Fleet fighting in detail. The Enemy not knowing this circumstance and fortunate changes of Wind completed their Ruin, The Sailors in the Gun Boats in general shew'd a backwardness, and the gallantry of the rest was only conspicuous in Capt'n Dacres^{an} commanding

^{an}. James Richard Dacres was born in February, 1749, and was the eldest son of Richard Dacres, a native of Cumberland, England, and secretary of the garrison of Gibraltar, by his wife Mary, daughter of William Bateman of Bury St Edmund's in the county of Suffolk. Young Dacres entered the British navy in 1762¹, and he was a lieutenant on the *Blonde* frigate, which sailed for Quebec early in April, 1776, with Burgoyne on board. On the 11th of the following June, Sir Guy Carleton appointed him an assistant quarter-master general, a position he held till the 8th of the next September, when he assumed command of the *Carleton*, armed schooner of 12 guns, in which he participated in the naval encounter of the British fleet with Benedict Arnold's flotilla on Lake Champlain, and bore a very active and honorable part.² Of the three commissioned officers on the *Carleton*, Mr. Brown lost an arm early in the action, and, soon after, Lieut. Dacres fell severely wounded and senseless. He would have been thrown overboard as dead but for the interference of young Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, who succeeded to the command

and maintained the unequal contest till Capt. Pringle, baffled in all his efforts to bring up the squadron, made the signal of recall. The *Carleton*, with two feet of water in her hold, was not in a condition to obey, so she was towed by the artillery boats out of range of the American guns.³ Sir Guy Carleton, who was on board Capt. Pringle's flag ship, in writing of the action of Oct. 11th, and the chase and action of the 13th, thus reports to Lord George Germaine. "For further particulars I refer your Lordship to Lieut. Dacres, who will be the bearer of this letter, and had a share in both actions, particularly the first, where his gallant behaviour in the *Carleton* schooner, which he commanded, distinguished him so much as to merit great commendation, and I beg to commend him to your Lordship's notice and favour. At the same time I cannot omit taking notice to your Lordship of the good service done in the first action by the spirited conduct of a number of officers and men of the corps of artillery, who served the gun boats, which, together with the *Carleton*, sustained for many hours the whole fire of the enemy's fleet, the rest of our vessels

the *Carlton* Schooner. The Com'r in Chief was on Board the Commodore, which prevented that Vessel attempting to get into a partial engagement.

not being able to work up near enough to join effectually in the engagement." Capt. Pringle, in forwarding his dispatches, bore this testimony to the worth of the subject of this sketch. "Many particulars," he writes, "which their Lordships may wish to know, I must at present take the liberty of referring you to Mr. Dacres for; but, as I am well convinced his modesty will not permit him to say how great a share he had in this victory, give me leave to assure you, that during both actions nothing could be more pointedly good than his conduct."

Dacres is next found in command of the sloop of war *Ceres*, of 18 guns, which, together with the *Ariadne* of 20 guns under Capt. Pringle, on March 9, 1778, engaged and captured the American man of war *Alfred*, Capt. Elisha Hinman, of 20 guns; her consort, the *Raleigh*, of 32 guns, having abandoned her to her fate.⁵ The *Ceres* immediately proceeded to the Leeward Islands and joined the West India squadron under Rear-Admiral Barrington, who, under date of Jan. 6, 1779, thus writes to the Admiralty from the Island of St. Lucia:—"I am sorry to add that the *Ceres* appears, by the *Martinique Gazette*, to have been taken after a chase of 48 hours, by the *Iphigenie*, a French frigate of 36 guns, but I have no account of it from Capt. Dacres, or any of her officers. I cannot help regretting the loss of this sloop, not only as she sailed remarkably well, but as Capt. Dacres is an officer of infinite merit."⁶ The *Ceres* was retaken in Lord Rodney's victory over the French, April 12, 1782.⁷

Dacres became a post-captain in the Royal navy, Sept. 13, 1780⁸, and was at once assigned to the command of the ship

Perseus of 20 guns, which was then being fitted out for sea with all dispatch at Chatham.⁹ On the 1st of the following December, the *Perseus*, together with the schooner *Racehorse* and cutter *Expedition*, engaged and captured, about three leagues off Beechy Head, the French brig privateer *Count du Bois*, of 12 guns. The prize was so cut up that she sunk soon after she struck.¹⁰ Capt. Dacres seemed to be successful in taking prizes, as the *Perseus*, and the *Fortune*, sloops, arrived in the Downs, Jan. 7, 1781, with the *Catherina Wilhelmina*, a Dutch East India ship of 900 tons, bound from Rotterdam to Batavia, laden with large masts and other naval stores, and having on board \$130,000 in specie. The *Perseus* had also shortly before that, taken and sent into Portsmouth, the *Friendship*, a Dutch vessel, laden with fruit.¹¹ The next month Capt. Dacres went as commodore of a small squadron consisting of the *Perseus*, *Zebra*, *Helena*, and *Martin* sloops, on a cruise to the northward in quest of some privateers seen in that quarter.¹²

Mention of him is next found in June, 1795, when he had command of the *Barfleur* of 98 guns, in which ship he took part in Lord Bridport's victory over the French fleet in the Bay of l'Orient, June 23d.¹³ In February, 1797, Capt. Dacres, still in the *Barfleur*, left the Channel Fleet and joined the fleet under Sir John Jervis, which had sailed from the Tagus Jan. 18, 1797; and he participated in Sir John's great naval victory over the French fleet off Cape St. Vincent on St. Valentine's day of that year, when Vice-Admiral (of the Blue) Walgrave had his flag on the *Barfleur*.¹⁴ For his

There is a Square Fort at Crown Point, Built by the English and now out of repair; within it are Barracks for about 800 Men, these also are out of repair being in part burnt by accident some years ago. The Rebels neglected these and threw up a Work near the Water towards Wind-Mill Point, as a protection for their Vessels. The old Fort stands in the middle of a spot of cleared ground about a Mile every way, and between the Point opposite Windmill Point, and a kind of Bason on the opposite side, called *South Bay*, this Bay (is on the western side) will not admit Vessels, and Gun Boats were sent to protect that Flank of the Army which lay encamped across this *Tongue of Land* extend'g from the Point where the Rebel works were erected, to South Bay.

[South.]



[North.]

It appearing too late in the *Season* for an attack on Tyconderoga 16 Miles from hence, where

gallantry in this action Capt. Dacres received a gold medal¹⁵

He became a Rear-Admiral of the Blue, Feb. 14, 1799¹⁶; a Rear-Admiral of the White, Jan 1, 1801¹⁷; and he was appointed to the command at Plymouth in June, 1802.¹⁸ He became a Rear-Admiral of the Red, April 23, 1804¹⁹; and the same year he was assigned to the command of the Jamaica station, a position he held

during four years.¹⁹ Admiral Dacres became a Vice-Admiral of the White, Nov. 9, 1805²⁰, and he died in Stanhope st., May Fair, London, Jan. 5, 1810²¹, or, as the *Naval Chronicle* for 1810, vol. 23, p. 88, puts it, "on the 6th of January, in consequence of a fall from his horse," after having rendered much valuable service. O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, p. 256, says that he died

report said the Enemy had from 12 to 16 Thousand Men, Gen'l Carlton order'd Fascines to be made (4.000) for the repair of the old Fort, and prepar'd to put the Barracks in order. Gen'l Carlton reconnoitr'd the Enemy's Works from the Water and the Boats went near enough to be fired at. Altering his determination about repairing the Works &c. at Crown Point, the Stores were sent Back, and the whole Armament returned abt. the 13th, 14th or 15th Nov. 76, With so favorable a wind that the *Radeau* a Square Built Vessel Sailed from Crown-point to *Isle Aux Noix* (90 Miles) in 9 Hours.

On our return we found the *Works* at *St. John's* (which originally consisted of a Square Fort) very much encreased, a Dock Yard being completed sufficient to Build a Ship of 24 Guns then on the Stocks, and another Fort and Lines began for its *defence* with Barracks for 1000 Men in tolerable forwardness. *St. Johns* can scarcely be called a Village being only two or three Houses, (not near the Fort) it is however from its frontier situation and the Works carrying on, likely to increase. The ground is

"worn out by length of service and the baneful effects of a West India climate."

He married Eleanor Blandford, daughter and heiress of ——— Pearce of Cambridge; and the Capt. James Richard Dacres that commanded the *Guerriere* when captured by the American ship *Constitution*, was a son of the subject of this sketch.²⁰ [1. C. 29: 1. U. 256. 20F.

E. 7, 43. 31. T. 12. 4M. F. 270-272.

5M. H. 274. 6H. K. 286. 71. G.

243, note. 8A. T. 51. 9H. N. 282.

10H. N. 552. 11H. O. 40. 12H. O. 214

13A. 391. 14A. 415. 15K. Z. 259.

16A. A. 17A. B. 18A. D. 19F. O.

278. 20E. D. 1232. 21E. G. 93.

221. D. 972.]

level & Marshy, the most unhealthy spot in inhabited Canada, and during the Summer Months, swarms with Musqueeto's. There is no road beyond this, all farther communication to the Southward being by Water. The Detachment at *Point au Fer*, was withdrawn, a Regiment & half a Company of Artillery left to occupy the Works at the *Isle au Noix*: another Regt. & half a Company of Artillery at St. Johns, both places being under the immediate inspection and orders of a Brigadier Gen'l. The Barracks at these places not being completed 'till the beginning of January, the Troops & Artificers suffer'd very much from the Cold. The rest of the Army was Canton'd in different parts of the Province during the Winter, and the Artill's spent their time very agreeably at *Montreal*, Provisions being everywhere cheap and plenty.

The Com'r in Chief finding Lady Maria Carlton at Quebec on his return, remained there during the Winter. Gen'l Burgoyne went to Europe early in November, and Gen'l Phillips resided at *Montreal* which was by Public orders consider'd as the Head Quarters of the Province, and all business transacted by the General.

The Officers amused themselves in their different Quarters, with Balls and Concerts composed of the best performers in the British and German Bands. The Soldiers were quarter'd on

the inhabitants and giving up the Kings Rations of Provisions to the Landlord's, lived with the Families and were remarkably healthy.

The Army, about 10,000 Men, was composed of nearly an equal number of British and German Troops.

One Regiment of Germans and a Company of Artillery, were Hessians and commanded by Brigadier Gen'l Goll.⁴⁰ The rest were *Brunswickers*

40. Colonel Gall, or Von Gall, [not Gall or Vangall as printed in the text] was colonel of the Regiment of Hesse Hanau, which, with the Brunswickers, composed the German troops sent over to Sir Guy Carleton in the spring of 1776. Col Gall, with his regiment, arrived at Spithead, England, March 31, 1776, and, a few days later, sailed for Canada with the English reinforcements and the first German division. On the 29th of the following August he was appointed an acting brigadier by Sir Guy Carleton, and assigned to a German brigade. In 1777 Gall, with his command, known as the 2d German Brigade, composed of the Regiments Prince Frederick and Hesse Hanau, participated in Burgoyne's campaign; and for this purpose he left his winter quarters and crossed the St. Lawrence, June 4th.⁴¹ Sharing the fortunes of his chief, Gall was included in the Saratoga surrender; and on the march of the Convention troops to Virginia, in 1778, commanded the 3d German division composed of the Battalion Barner, the Regiment Hesse Hanau and the Hanau Artillery.⁴² He was exchanged late in 1780, or early in 1781, and returned to Europe only to encounter an enraged prince, who dismissed him from the service for returning home without the royal leave; though the prince's displeasure was greatly heightened because he had heard that Gall had been "accused of re-

taining money and appropriating it to his own use, and also of partiality." Gen. Riedesel's report to the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Hanau shows that while Col. Gall had been guilty of gross irregularity, it was not due to any desire for selfish gain but solely to benefit his men. Max Von Eelking, in commenting upon Riedesel's report, says: "The soldiers were those mostly quartered on the inhabitants, to whom they sold their rations, and by whom they were boarded in exchange. The soldiers were also furnished with rice, flour and other articles; and the inhabitants, having in Colonel Gall's opinion, the advantage, he desired to turn the scale in favor of his men by cutting down those rations which the inhabitants received from the soldiers, hoping to turn the surplus into money out of which a fund could be created for the benefit of the men in unforeseen emergencies. Colonel Gall had taken this idea from the Brunswickers, who had a reserve fund of this nature made up by the monthly contributions of the men, a small amount being deducted from their regular monthly pay. . . . This affair of Col. Gall attracted great attention, not only in Hesse, but throughout Germany. It was even discussed in the public journals."⁴³ [⁴¹K. M. 38. ⁴²K. M. 100, 105, 107. ⁴³K. N. 47. ⁴⁴K. N. 101-105, 216-218.]

under Major Gen'l Baron de Reidesil,^{ap} who took up his Quarters at *Trois Rivières*, half way between *Montreal* & *Quebec*.

In February M. G'l Phillips reviewed the 21st Reg't at St. John's and 12 Men were taken away *Frost bitten*, but recover'd by being kept from the fire, in a warm Room & chaf'd with Snow.

^{ap} Friederich Adolphus Riedesel belonged to one of the oldest and richest of the baronial families in the interior of Germany, and was born June 3d, 1738, in the ancestral castle of Lauterbach, in Rhineland. His father was John William Riedesel, who, at the time of Friederich's birth, was government assessor and page to the prince of Eisenach; and his mother was Sophie Hedwig, a daughter of Baron Von Borke, a Prussian lieutenant-general, and the governor of Stettin. In his early youth Friederich was sent to a clergyman in Frischborn (near Lauterbach) to be educated; and at fifteen he entered the law school at Marburg, as his father intended him for the legal profession. A Hessian battalion of infantry in garrison at Marburg, however, so aroused the boy's military ardor, that he abandoned the law for the army, and became a vice-ensign in a regiment which was shortly after received into the English establishment and quartered in a town near London, where he became proficient in both the French and English languages.

When the Seven Years War broke out, in 1756, the regiment Riedesel was attached to, was recalled to Germany, and he was appointed an aid to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He bore himself so gallantly at Minden, Aug. 1, 1759, that the prince made him bearer of dispatches and recommended him for promotion. Accordingly he was made a captain in a new Hessian regiment of

Blue Hussars, but he never led his troop as Prince Ferdinand still retained him upon his staff. The landgrave of Hesse having overlooked Riedesel in the promotions of 1761, the latter resigned his commission, but the slight having been repaired in the May of that year by his appointment as lieutenant-colonel of the Black Hussars he did not leave the army. Two months later the command of Buer's regiment was likewise conferred on him, the two being equal to a cavalry brigade. Riedesel saw much service and gained much credit during the Seven Years War, in which he was wounded. On the disbanding of his regiment in 1767 he was appointed adjutant-general of the Brunswick army, and in 1772 he was made colonel of carbiniers, which corps was subsequently formed into a dragoon regiment.

He was advanced to the rank of major-general and given the command of the Brunswick troops hired by George III for service in America. Riedesel sailed from the Elbe with the first detachment of his Brunswickers, March 21, 1776, and arrived at Spithead on the 28th, whence after a few days delay he sailed with a fleet containing English troops, to Quebec where he arrived June 1st. The year 1776 he spent in Canada, and in 1777 participated in Burgoyne's campaign, being included in the surrender at Saratoga. He left Albany, Oct. 22, and arrived with the other German prisoners at Cam-

Previous to this all the Troops were provided with Blanket Coats and Leggings, as also a Woolen or Fur Cap & Mittens to protect the Face, Ears, & Hands against the inclemency of the Season. The 29th Reg't and Artillery in Garrison at Montreal were reviewed on the *Ice* by the Com'r in Chief, who during this excursion, visited & reviewed the Troops in most of the Cantonments.

bridge, Nov. 7th. In Nov., 1778, the Convention prisoners were transferred to Virginia, and with them Gen. Riedesel and his family. He was exchanged Oct. 25, 1780, and Sir Henry Clinton at once conferred the command of Long Island upon him, with headquarters at Brooklyn. July 29th, 1781, he with his family and guard sailed in the transport *Little-dale* for Halifax and Quebec, at which latter place he arrived a second time, Sept. 10th, 1781, and again took possession of his old quarters at Sorel. All the foreign troops were at once ordered to report to him, and he was placed in charge of the district which lies south of the St. Lawrence between Sorel and Lake Champlain. In 1783 an order having been received to send home the German troops, he sailed from Quebec in August of that year, and arrived in England after a remarkably quick passage. Thence he proceeded to his home in Wolfenbüttel, which city he entered at the head of his troops.

March 5th, 1787, he was promoted to be a lieutenant-general; and in the following year he was appointed to the command of the Brunswick contingent, which formed a part of the German army that was sent to Holland to support the cause of the stadtholder. He served with brief intervals in Holland until the close of 1793, when he retired to his ancestral castle in Lauterbach. In 1794 he re-

turned to Brunswick, having been appointed commandant of that city, but he did not live long to enjoy the honors and emoluments of the position, as he died in that town after a brief sickness, Jan. 6th, 1800.

Gen. Riedesel in addition to his military promotions, was decorated with the grand cross of the Order of the Golden Lion. Although a brave officer he gained no particular laurels in America, and it is easy to see from both British and German accounts, that a jealousy existed between the troops of the different nations upon Burgoyne's campaign.

In December, 1762, Gen. Riedesel married Frederica, second daughter of Commissary General Von Massow, by which union he had nine children, two of whom were born on this continent, viz—*America*, born in New York city, March 7, 1780, and *Canada*, born at Sorel in Canada, Nov. 1, 1782. His wife and family joined him in Canada in 1777 and accompanied him on Burgoyne's campaign and in all his subsequent movements. Madame Riedesel's journals and letters furnish many graphic descriptions of affairs in Burgoyne's army, and are by no means always flattering to the character or capacity of that notable British officer. [H. P. 310: F. E. 166, 208: K. L.: K. M: K. N.]

The Winter, for that climate was very mild, and tho' the Rivers were frozen over & passable for Carriages from the beginning of January 'till the Month of April we did not miss parading twice a day in the *Champ de Mars* a very bleak situation, above 12 or 14 Times during the Winter. The cold always increased with the wind from its passing over the Frozen Lakes, and high winds were usually accompanied with a snow storm, against which there is no Travelling. In calm weather the Sun was powerful and pleasant, tho' it had but a trifling effect on the Snow or Ice, which latter was several Feet thick being in many places, from the rapidity of the Current thrown up in heaps before the whole was frozen over: As soon as the River is passable Roads of communication are made between the Towns or Villages on the opposite Banks of the River, and all Frozen obstacles removed. Montreal is 30 Miles above *Sorel*, that is where the *Sorel* River falls into the St. Lawrence.

During the Winter a *Scout* was sent across the Lakes under Captain *McKay*^{aq} and brought in

^{aq} Samuel McKay entered the British army, Dec. 30th, 1755, as an ensign in the 61d, (afterwards the 60th) or Royal American Regiment of Foot, and the next year embarked for America. He was promoted to a lieutenancy, Dec. 6th, 1756, and continued to serve in America till the peace of 1763, when two battalions of the 60th, and the additional companies of the other two

battalions, were disbanded and he went upon half-pay, his name appearing on the half-pay of the 60th as late as 1786, several years after his death.¹

He seems to have been in Canada at the breaking out of the American Revolution, and upon the American invasion of that province in 1775, he was an active participant in the measures devised for its defence. Sanguinet in his Journal, and

some Prisoners from the *Portage* (or carrying place) at the entrance of Lake George: we learnt from them that the Enemy were preparing against an Attack from us at Tyconderoga.

The latter end of April the River began to free itself from the Floating *Ice*, which had broken loose about a fortnight before. The moment the Snow is off the ground Summer commences, and vegetation is uncommonly quick.

Berthelot and Lorimier in their Memoirs, to be found in vol. I of Verreau's *Invasion du Canada*, make frequent mention of McKay as he was often dispatched upon scouts and petty expeditions for prisoners or information. The latter part of May, 1775, Sanguinet tells us, "Lieutenant Samuel Makaye, *officier de distinction*" set out from Montreal with fifty Canadian volunteers to occupy the fort at St. John's, where he remained till its capture in September, 1775, when he was made a prisoner.² Gen. Montgomery wrote to Gen. Schuyler from Montreal, Nov. 19, 1775, as follows—"I wish I could have apprized you in time, of your obligations to Captain McKay. He generously offered Mr. Carleton, if he would give him 200 men, to go and burn the new church at Sattigan, last summer; he is so inveterate a fellow that I think if the other prisoners should be indulged in returning to their families this winter, he ought not to be permitted to enter this Province."³ Gen. Schuyler, in a letter from Albany to Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, under date of Dec. 12th, in that same year, wrote,—"Mr. McKay, who was taken at St. John's, has behaved in such a manner that the Committee of this place have requested his removal. I have discharged him from his parole of honour, and he goes under an escort to Lebanon," Con-

necticut. He was accordingly forwarded to Hartford, and March 21st, of the next year, he and nine other British officers, prisoners there, memorialized Congress to be removed from Hartford, because, as they say, "notwithstanding it is their earnest wish and design to avoid giving any just and reasonable cause of offence to the inhabitants in their neighbourhood, yet the most trivial incidents are industriously misrepresented and maliciously propagated through the country, inasmuch that their personal safety is actually endangered by mobs, there being none of the Continental Troops here to grant them a safeguard."⁵ Illustrations of the kind of treatment complained of, are given by the British Major French of the 22d Foot, then a prisoner at Hartford, in his Journal to be found in vol. I, of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. The memorial proving ineffectual, we next find Capt. McKay applying to Gen. Washington on the 5th of April for a release by exchange or on parole; but without success.⁶ Failing to secure his liberty in any other way Capt. McKay broke his parole on Saturday night, May 19th, and, in the garb of a clergyman, attempted to escape to Canada.⁷ Under date of Wednesday, May 22d, Major French wrote in his Journal—"Capt. McKay and his servant, one McFarlan

The Snow usually goes away the beginning of May & by *June* you have ripe Strawberries, even before the Snow is gone the Climate & Sun is almost unpleasantly warm. Upon the whole the Winter in Canada may be passed very pleasantly the weather being in general settled, and the amusement of *Cabrioling* (or driving in a Carriage without Wheels supported by pieces of wood shod with Iron) which is healthy and much fol-

of the Royal Artillery, were brought back in company with one Graves, of Pittsfield in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, about 70 miles distant, whom, they alledged, was his guide, having been taken at Lanesborough, four or five miles beyond Pittsfield, by some country fellows who suspected them, and who after having tied him, knocked him down, and beat and abused him in the grossest manner. In the evening they were all sent to the common gaol indiscriminately." Major French, in referring to Capt. McKay's bruises, states that the captain was refused the services of the surgeons he desired, and adds—"In consequence of the behaviour of the mob on the 20th, and the inflamed appearance we observed among them when Capt. McKay was brought back, we all signed a paper, and I gave it to the Governor, requesting protection from the fury of the populace."

The *Connecticut Courant and Hartford Weekly Intelligencer* for May 27, 1776, characterized McKay's violation of his parole in the following vigorous manner—"The infamous Capt. McKay, who is so lost to every principle of honor as to violate his parole and endeavour to make his escape as mentioned in our last, was last Monday apprehended and taken by a number of gentlemen at Lanesborough, Berkshire county, and on

Wednesday following was safely brought to this town and lodged in the common goal. His servant, McFarland, together with a certain John Graves of Pittsfield, were likewise taken with him, and both are committed to prison. Graves is an inhabitant of Pittsfield, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, where he has considerable property: but being instigated by the devil, and his own wicked heart, he had undertaken to pilot McKay to Albany, and had procured fresh horses at proper stages on the road to expedite his flight. *Quere. What does the last mentioned villain deserve?*"

Notwithstanding the captain was committed to close jail in Hartford, neither bolts nor bars were effectual to restrain him long, as Major French records under date of "Tuesday, 10th Sept., Capt. McKay and Mr. Graves made their escape this night in a manner which surprised all without, as much as us their fellow prisoners, since there was no appearance of any breach, and two strong prison doors were bolted and the outside one locked."

The advertisement of the reward offered for McKay's arrest taken from the *Connecticut Courant* for Sept. 23, 1776, affords us a glimpse of this worthy's personal appearance, at least as he appeared to the patriot authorities to whom he had given the slip. It is as follows—

lowed by all Ranks above the very poor. They can enjoy every fine day, and necessity is the parent of many home amusements.

Skating may sometimes offer but tho' there is plenty of *Ice* you cannot always find a clear spot. To obviate this, the officers at many places hired people to sweep away the *Snow* as it fell upon certain situations fixed for that exercise.

"Seventy Dollars Reward.

"Escaped from Hartford goal, in the State of Connecticut, in the night following the 10th instant, one *Samuel McKay*, a Lieut. in the British service, taken at St. John's and confined by the Committee for having before broke his parole by running away. And one *John Graves* of Pittsfield, who was imprisoned for being a vile tory, and assisting said McKay in getting away as aforesaid. Said McKay has a wife in Canada, is of light complexion, light coloured hair and eyes, considerably pitted with the small pox, has a long nose, is tall in stature, has a droll fawning way in speech and behaviour, uncertain what clothes he wore away; had with him a blue coat with white cuffs and lapels, a gray mixt colour'd coat, and a red coat white waistcoats, a brown camblet cloak lined with green baize, and a pair of brown corduroy breeches. Graves is short in stature, has long black hair, brown complexion, dark eyes, one leg shorter than t'other, appears rather simple in talk and behaviour; had a snuff colour'd surtut and coat, green waistcoat, and white flannel ditto, leather breeches and white trousers. Whoever shall take up and return to the goal in Hartford, the aforesaid McKay and Graves, shall be entitled to 50 dollars

reward for said McKay, and 20 dollars for said Graves, by

Ezekiel Williams, Sheriff.

Hartford, September 11, 1776."

Capt. McKay hastened to Canada, and as early as Nov. 20th, in that same year (1776), was authorized to raise a company of Canadians for the following year's campaign.⁶ His zeal and the kind of warfare he waged is indicated by the following extract from a letter dated Albany, March 29th, 1777, and printed in the *Continental Journal* for April 10, 1777:—"About a week ago," says the letter, "the famous McKay (who broke out of Hartford Goal last September and made his escape) with a party of Indians attack'd thirty odd unarmed recruits with two officers, at Sabbath-day-point, a little before day, as they were asleep round a fire; they were on their way from Ticonderoga to Fort George to join their corps. They tomahawked four of the men on the spot and fired a ball through the upper part of the breast of Capt. Heny, of which he is getting better. Capt. Whitcomb with 40 men was dispatch'd as soon as the account reached Ticonderoga with a design to fall in with the enemy on their way to Canada, and I am just now informed he succeeded in his plan, and has killed several of the Indians and wounded several more: I hope it may be true. Only

The 6th of May Gen'l Burgoyne arrived at Quebec from England, it is remarkable that, that very day twelve-months the Garrison was relieved, and that no Ships ever arrived sooner, the Passage up the River be'g obstructed by the *Ice*. Preparations were now made for an Expedition under his Command, against Tyconderoga. Contracts for Horses were made and Carriages

two of the party, beside the wounded officer, got clear of the Savages, the remainder that were not killed were taken prisoners."

Having raised a company of one hundred men, which in the spring of 1777 was attached to St. Leger's expedition, he declined the appointment as captain, and went upon Burgoyne's campaign as a volunteer. This he did, according to Sanguinet, because he was dissatisfied with Sir Guy Carleton's unwillingness to commission him, for it must be remembered that being appointed an officer, and being commissioned as one, were two very different things in the loyal provincial corps. He was a brave and active partisan, and with a party of troops and Indians demolished a number of wagons at Skenesborough which were carrying stores to the Americans, and took the drivers prisoners.⁹ He rendered much like service throughout Burgoyne's campaign, and returned to Canada upon that general's surrender. The following letter from Gen. Haldimand to Capt. McKay shows what a stumbling block the declaration of the command of the Canadian company afterwards became in the latter's path.

"Quebec, the 13th July, 1778.

"LT. MCKAY.

"SIR. I have rec'd a letter from you dated the 11th of this month and in answer to it I can only inform you that

as you refused the offer which Gen'l Carleton made you of a Canadian company last summer, the General did not think proper to employ you afterwards in any other military capacity. As to the command of Phister's which you alledge was given you by Gen'l Burgoyne you must be sensible that upon its entering this province Gen'l Carleton only was to judge of the propriety of keeping it up or not, or of making what alterations he thought proper in it. No charge, or accusation is brought against you, neither is your character in any respect impeached. Gen'l Carleton did not receive the men you brought as troops, but as People who from their distressed situation wanted that some provision should be made for them, and I see no reason at present for making any change in the arrangements he has thought proper to settle in regard to this matter made by Sir Guy Carleton in this respect.¹⁰"

Capt. McKay died in the summer of 1779, leaving a wife and family in distress, according to Gen'l Haldimand, who pronounced the deceased officer to be "an exceeding good soldier."¹¹ [B. H. 2K. Y. 33, 41, 143; A. W. 229; H. S. 287. 3E. 1683. 4F. 248. 5G. 452. 6G. 858. 7I. 133; H. 563, 574, 601, 633. 8F. B. 270. 9H. G. 614. 10F. L. 4. 11F. H. 134.]

purchased, the *Batteaux's* were put in repair, and the New Ship, called the Royal George was launched and fitted up to carry 24 Guns. 12 P'rs. Some of the Rebel Vessels taken last year, were also put in condition to act offensively and went thro' several alterations.

Gen'l Burgoyne arrived at Montreal, and the following Corps were order'd for the expedition, (viz) the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 47th, 53rd and 62nd British Regiments with the Flank Companies of the 29th, 31st & 34th Regiments, British. The Regiments of *Rhetz*, *Specht*, *Reidesil*, *Prince Freerick*, and *Hesse Hanau* and the Company of Artillery, German, with about 40 Jagers, & as many English Marksmen selected from the different Regiments, & called Rangers. Also some few Canadians, and Provincials in all about 7000 Men; including 250 British Artillery, & some Recruits for Gen'l *Howe's* Army under a *Lt. Nutt*. *or* Under General Burgoyne, were, Maj'r Generals Phillips & Reidesil, Brigadiers

or. George Anson Nutt was commissioned as ensign in the 33d Foot, Aug. 28, 1771, and was promoted to a lieutenancy, Oct. 26, 1775. How he happened to be in Canada in 1776, and with Burgoyne in 1777, has been explained in the Editor's Explanatory Chapter. He and his recruits were attached to the artillery on Burgoyne's campaign, and were included in the capitulation at Saratoga, his name being

attached to the Cambridge Parole. He was promoted to be capt.-lieutenant, Oct. 1, 1780, and he was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781. At the peace of 1783 he went upon half-pay, and did not return to active service till 1787, when he became a captain in the 65th Foot, his commission bearing date on May 30th of that year. He appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1789. [B. H. i K. J. 64.]

Frazer^{as}, Powell^{at}, Hamilton^{au}, Specht^{av}, and Goll. Another expedition was also prepared under Brigadier Gen'l St. Leger,^{aw} consisting of about

^{as}. See Appendix 9.

^{at}. See Appendix 10.

^{au}. See Appendix 11.

^{av}. Johann Friederich Specht was colonel of the Regiment Specht, and was the second in command of the Brunswickers sent to Canada in the spring of 1776, to re-inforce Gen. Carleton, ranking next to Maj.-Gen. Riedesel. The Germans, it will be remembered, went to Canada in two divisions; the first, commanded by Gen. Riedesel, arrived at Quebec, June 1, 1776; and the second, under Col. Specht, reached there on the 17th of the following September. As soon as Col. Specht arrived in Canada he assumed command of a brigade consisting of his own regiment, and the Regiment Rhetz, though he was not appointed a brig.-general, till Oct. 28, 1776. The winter quarters of his brigade in 1776, and '77, occupied the parishes of Champlain, Batiscia, and St. Anne, and there he passed the winter. In 1777 he and his command formed part of Burgoyne's expedition, and on the 7th of June they crossed the St. Lawrence *en route* to the place of rendezvous of Burgoyne's force, the Regiment Riedesel being added to Specht's brigade, which was known as the First German Brigade. He shared in the dangers, misfortunes and capitulation of Burgoyne's army, and on the march of 'the Convention troops to Virginia he commanded the German divisions. When in the autumn of 1779, Gen. Riedesel left Virginia for New York on parole preparatory to being exchanged, Gen. Specht assumed entire command of the Germans remaining in Virginia, which

he retained until he was himself exchanged in Oct., 1780. Gen. Specht went to Canada after his exchange, as we find him serving there in June, 1781; and in September of that year he commanded the German troops in the vicinity of Montreal. He served in Canada during the remainder of the war, and returned home with the German troops, entering Brunswick at the head of the second division (Riedesel led the first), in Oct., 1783. (He died at Brunswick as a pensioned colonel, June 24, 1787. Unfortunately, the editor, or translator, of the memoirs of Maj. Gen. Riedesel, has confused Col. Specht, of 'the Regiment Specht, afterwards a brigadier-general, with Lieut.-Col. Speth of the Regiment Riedesel, by frequently calling the latter Lieut.-Col. Specht, which interferes with the usefulness of that work in regard to the subject of this sketch. [K. M. 26, 62, 66, 68, 76, 82, 100, 107: K. N. 47, 73, 100, 138, 184, 206, 207, 248: K. L. 160: F. E. 53.]

^{aw}. Barry St. Leger, a nephew of the fourth Viscount Doneraile, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in or about the year 1737.¹ He entered the British military service as an ensign in the 28th Foot, April 27th, 1756, and the next year accompanied his regiment to America where it served under Gen. Abercromby. He seems to have been allowed to jump the grade of lieutenant, and he was promoted to a captaincy in the 48th Foot, then likewise in America, March 24th, 1758.² He participated in the siege and capture of Louisbourg in 1758, and accompanied Wolfe to Quebec in 1759, participating in the battle on the Heights of Abraham. The last order given by the dying Wolfe was—"Go,

2 Hundred Regulars, a Provincial Reg't of 200 More and 3 or 4 hundred Wirtemberg Chasseurs, and to be joined by about 4 or 500 Savages in all it was expected he wou'd have 12 or 13 hundred Men bearing arms. He carried with him 2—6 Pounders, 2—3 Pounders, 4—4⁸/₈ Howitzers and 40 Artillery Men, under two Subalterns. This Detachment was destined to pass by Niagara across *Lake Ontario* to Oswego and attack *Fort*

one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment" (the 48th) "with all speed to Charles's river to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." St. Leger, who was in Webb's regiment, behaved gallantly near the bridge in checking the flight of the French, and was slightly wounded.¹ In July, 1760, he was appointed brigade major preparatory to marching to Montreal², and he became major of the 95th Foot Aug. 16th, 1762. Upon that regiment's being reduced at the peace of 1763, he went upon half-pay. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, May 25, 1772, and the lieutenant-colonel of the 34th Foot, May 20, 1775.³

The *Annual Register* for 1773, under date of April 7th, contains a notice of the marriage of "Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger, nephew of the late Lord Viscount Doneraile, and fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Lady Mansel, widow of the late Sir Edward Mansel of Trinsaran, South Wales." In the spring of 1776, his regiment formed a part of the reinforcement sent over to Sir Guy Carleton, and he accompanied it to Canada. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and the next year, acting as a brigadier, he led the force which was intended to move from Oswego by the way of Oneida Lake and Wood creek to the Mohawk,

thence down the river to Albany, where a junction was to be effected with Burgoyne.⁴ The termination of the affair so unfortunate for its commander, is well known. His report to Gen. Burgoyne of his operations before Fort Stanwix (or Schuyler), dated Oswego, Aug. 27, 1777, is to be found in the appendix of the State of the Expedition. Sir Guy Carleton evidently thought St. Leger lacking in vigor in disciplining his troops as shown by the former's letter to Gen. Maclean, which is as follows :

"HEAD QUARTERS QUEBEC,

24th July, 1777.

... Lieut.-Colonel St. Leger may be informed that he ought to have seized and sent down here in irons, those Canadians whom he mentions having held such conversations to and occasioned the desertion of Capt. Rouville's Company. Two men for each deserter are to be demanded, upon pain of military execution, from the parishes to which the deserters belong, and the Captains of Militia are to be enjoined to find the deserters themselves, and safely conduct them to where you shall direct, in order to their being sent prisoners to the companies from which they have deserted, there to be tried and punished."⁵

Sept. 23, 1777, St. Leger's force was sent to Ticonderoga to be subject to

Stanwix, after which Gen'l *St. Leger* was to proceed down the *Mohawk*, and join Gen'l *Burgoyne* at *Albany*.

June the 4th being the Kings Birth day the Town (*Montreal*) was illuminated, and Thursday June the 5th 1777 I crossed the *St. Lawrence* (here near two Miles wide) and arrived at *Longueuil* on the opposite shore, with the Detachment of Artillery destined for the expedition. In the

Gen. *Burgoyne's* orders, but, as communication with *Burgoyne* was interrupted, it did not proceed south of *Ticonderoga*, and when that fortress was abandoned in November of that year it returned to Canada.⁸ He became a colonel in the army, Nov. 17th, 1780⁹, and a brigadier-general in the army in Canada Oct. 21st, 1782, his command consisting of the troops "on the Island of *Montreal*, *Isle of Jesus*, *Miller Island* as far as *Couteau du Lac* upon the north, and from thence to *La Prairie* exclusive on the south side of the River *St. Lawrence*."¹⁰ He was commandant of his majesty's forces in Canada in the autumn of 1784,¹¹ and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1785. A writer in the *American Historical Record* for 1874 (p. 435) says he died in 1789, when he was a little past fifty years of age.

It is not easy, from the data that have come down to us, to form a clear idea of *St. Leger's* character. His letter to Gen. *Schuyler* dated Nov. 7th, 1781, in reference to some of the latter's silver that had been plundered by a British scouting party, does not reflect upon *St. Leger* discredibly¹², but his duplicity in trying to induce the garrison of *Fort Schuyler* to surrender, cannot legitimately be included under the term, military strategy; and his message holding out the terrors of unrestrained savage allies, was so bar-

barous, that Col. *Willett* characterized it as "a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry."¹³

St. Leger's message prepares us to believe the otherwise well high incredible deposition of Dr. *Moses Younglove* who was taken prisoner at *Oriskany*, where he says he was informed by several sergeants orderly on Gen. *St. Leger* that \$20 were offered in general orders for every American scalp.¹⁴

The testimony of *Squire Ferris*, likewise, who was an American prisoner in Canada in the spring of 1779, is of the most unflattering description. Speaking of a party of fellow prisoners who had attempted to escape, *Ferris* says — "For four days before they were retaken, they had nothing for food but tea, and were so weak they could hardly walk. The forces at *St. John's* were then commanded by Col. *St. Leger*, a brutal drunkard, who ordered the prisoners to be ironed together, and put them in a dungeon for fourteen days, at the end of which time, and ironed hand in hand to each other, they were sent to *Chamblée* and from there by the rivers *Sorel* and *St. Lawrence* to *Quebec*."¹⁵ [¹N. 435. ²B. H. ³I. R. 714. ⁴L. 1: G. Q. 66. ⁵F. B. 627. ⁶F. C. 24; ⁷F. E. 85. ⁸F. E. 207, 208. ⁹J. R. ¹⁰M. U. 58. ¹¹L. J. App. 20. ¹²L. M. 92.]

Evening I rode over to *Boucherville* a very pleasant Village also on the Banks of the River and Six Miles from hence.

Gen'l Carlton passed here this day on his way to St. Johns: He, with Maj'r Gen'l Jones *az*

az. Valentine Jones was born in or about the year 1723, and entered the British army in 1741 as an ensign in the 33d Foot. He was present at the battle of Dettingen in 1743; and at Fontenoy, in 1745, he was one of the few officers of the 33d left alive. He was promoted to a lieutenancy, May 1, 1745, during which year he returned to England and assisted in suppressing the rebellion in Scotland. He became capt.-lieutenant of the 33d, Sept. 26, 1754, and a captain in the 54th Foot, Oct. 13, 1755. In 1758 this regiment was re-numbered as the 52d, and he became its major, Oct. 14, 1758, and its lieutenant-colonel, March 4, 1760. During the war which ended at the peace of 1763 this officer was stationed in Ireland, where he was of essential service in defending many parts of that kingdom from the outrages of the White Boys. In the memorable riot near the parliament house in Dublin, which threatened the destruction of the Duke of Bedford, his activity and attention were the means of preserving the lives of the viceroy and the secretary, he being the commanding officer of the party which quelled the disturbance. For his conduct on that occasion he received the thanks of the House of Commons. He became a colonel in the army, May 25, 1772, and in 1774, when his regiment was ordered away from Quebec, where it had long been stationed, the following gratifying address was presented to him, viz.—

“To Valentine Jones, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel of his Majesty's 52d Reg't of Foot.

“The Address of the Subscribers, Merchants, and other Inhabitants of the city of Quebec.

“Sir: It is with much concern we learn that his Majesty's service at this time calls for you and the Regiment under your command from this province; and we should on this occasion be much short of the respect due to you, and which Truth demands of us, if we did not take this public method of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the obliging, regular and humane conduct you have ever observed for the many years you have resided among us; during which you have always paid that just regard to the protection of our Civil Rights, and the proper Discipline of the Troops under your Command, as became the prudent and experienced officer.

“We heartily wish you and the gentlemen of the Corps under your Command a safe and pleasant voyage, and doubt not that in your next quarters his Majesty's Subjects may have equal cause to bear Testimony of the uprightness of your conduct as the citizens of Quebec. We have the honour to be, &c.”

In December, 1774, Gen. Gage, then commander-in-chief in America, appointed Col. Jones a brig.-general, and Capt. Edward Cane of the 43d Foot, his major of brigade. Gen. Jones was appointed a major-general in America Jan. 1, 1776; colonel of the 62d Foot Jan. 15, 1776; and a major-general in the army, Aug. 29, 1777. He arrived in England from America early in November, 1778, and on the 18th of

remains in Canada, and for the defence of that Province retains the 29th, 31st & 34th Regiments except a hundred from the latter going with Brigadier Gen'l St. Leger. He has also 2 German Reg'ts^{ay} and 50 Men from Six of the Regiments going with Gen'l Burgoyne, in all

that month had a conference with his majesty. He died at Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, Scotland, in November, 1779. *The Gentleman's Magazine* says:—

"He had been in the army thirty-eight years, and during that period had served his country on many important and trying occasions. . . . At the close of last year [1778] he returned from America, where he had served fourteen years, and where he had been employed on many services, both civil and military, and distinguished for his bravery, humanity, and every other virtue which can adorn the soldier and the man. Increasing infirmities, the consequences of an active and laborious life wholly spent in the duty of his station, necessarily requiring those assistances which could only be afforded to him in his own country, he died at the age of 56, honoured with the confidence of men of the ablest judgement and highest rank in his profession; respected and beloved by the army in general; while his loss will be long deplored, and his memory revered by every domestic connection." [B. H.: J. C.: J. D.: H. J. 462, 486: H. L. 466: D. W. 566.]

ay. The Hanau Chasseurs must have been one of the two German regiments Hadden referred to. It probably arrived in Canada late in the spring or early in the summer of 1777, and an extract from a letter from Hanau, Jan. 24, 1777, printed in the *Continental Journal* of May 22, 1777, speaks of it

in this wise:—

"A corps of volunteer chasseurs are raising here for the service of, and to be in the pay of Great Britain, destined to join the corps of troops of Hesse Hannau in America. They will have the same high pay which the Court of London hath given to the Hessian Chasseurs."

Lord George Germaine's letter to Gen. Carleton, dated at Whitehall, 26th March, 1777, to be found in the State of the Expedition, App. ix, directs that 342 Hanau Chasseurs be put under St. Leger for his expedition against Fort Stanwix.

In Col. Rainsford's Journal of "Transactions as Commissary for embarking Foreign Troops in the English service from Germany," for the years 1776-1777, to be found in vol. 12, of the New York Historical Society's Publication Fund Series, we find that three companies of Hanau Chasseurs sailed from S' Gravendael near Dort, April 16, 1777, for Portsmouth, England, and thence for Canada, where they subsequently arrived, serving under Sir Guy Carleton. pp. 430, 431, 432, 469, 542.

The other German regiment Hadden referred to in the text, must have been composed of the details from the seven German infantry regiments accompanying Burgoyne, the names of which are to be found on page 101 of vol. 1, of Gen. Riedesel's Memoirs, Letters and Journals, and which details, according to Riedesel, amounted to 667, but according to the State of the Expedition, App. xxviii, to 711.

3500 Men including the Sick in Hospital, which are by no means numerous.

Number of Artillery Men stationed at the different Forts & Posts in Canada after the surrender of St. Johns & Chamblee, and previous to our arrival last year.

	Sub'n.	Non Com'd officer.	Gunnern.	Matrosses
at Niagara	1	1	"	5
at Detroit	1	"	2	6
at Oswegatchie	"	"	"	1
at Michilimachina	"	"	"	1
	—	—	—	—
Total	2	1	2	13

Of Col. Phillips's Company.

	Serg't	Gun'r	Drum'r
at Quebec during the Siege	1	2	1

These last under Cap't Tho's Jones,^{az} and his whole command during the Siege.

^{az}. Thomas Jones entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich as a gentleman cadet, March 18, 1755, and was commissioned a lieut.-fireworker in the Royal Artillery Dec. 27, 1755; a 2d lieut. April 2, 1757; a 1st lieut. Jan. 1, 1759; a capt.-lieutenant Oct. 23, 1761; and a capt. Jan. 1, 1771.¹ He served in the 1st Battalion until he got a company, when he was transferred to the 4th Battalion.² He took part in the siege of Belleisle on the coast of France in 1761, and proceeded with his battalion to America in 1773.³ He was stationed in Canada in 1775, so that he

was in America long prior to the arrival of the artillery detachment that was sent out in the spring of 1776. The artillery present at Quebec at the time of Montgomery's attack, and during the subsequent siege of the town by Arnold, belonged to No. 3 Company, 4th Battalion, but they were very few in number. They were under the command of Capt. Jones, whose services on the occasion received the highest praise. In the operations to expel the Americans from Canada in 1776, Capt. Jones took an active part and was attached to the right wing of the army.⁴ In the autumn

Friday, June 6th I received a letter from *Bob*^{ba} dated April 13th he was then at *Kinsale* on his way to America, to join S'r Wm. Howe. June 7th the Detachment marched to La Prairie Nine Miles from Longeul, above Montreal, and pleasantly situate on the banks of the St. Lawrence. A few Miles (4 or 5) above this place is a Town & settlement of Indians, called the *Cochnewauga's*. Sunday the 7th we proceeded to *St. Johns*, 18 Miles, by the road on which Gen'l Gordon was killed. Being incumber'd with many Carts &c destined for the expedition our march was much retarded by the badness of the Roads, which were uncommonly so notwithstanding the late fine weather: more than half the Carriages were broken & we did not get to *St. John's* till night. June 10th M. Gen'l Phillips came to *St. John's*,

of that year he returned to England, and on the 31st of the following January was married to a Miss Ibbetson, of Greenwich, at St. James Church, Piccadilly, London.^a He returned to Canada in the spring of 1777, arriving at Quebec early in June with a company of artillery, and that year participated in Burgoyne's campaign, on which he was attached to Gen. Hamilton's Brigade in the right wing of the army. Lieut. Hadden was attached to his company, and has given us, *post*, an interesting account of the almost complete annihilation of Capt. Jones' company, and of the captain's death at Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19. Stedman in his History of the American War, in speaking of the artillery in that engagement, says—"The intrepidity of Capt.

Jones, of the British artillery, who fell in this action, was particularly distinguished." Lieut.-Col. Kingston, Burgoyne's adjutant-general, in testifying before a committee of the House of Commons, speaks of Capt. Jones as "a very gallant man," and Gen. Burgoyne^c and Phillips,^d in their reports, give him conspicuous mention. [¹G. U. ²B. H. ³C. Z. 229, 270. ⁴C. Z. 304: E. Z. ⁵H. G. 3. ⁶J. K. ⁷B. N. 79, App. 49. ⁸H. I. 10.]

^{ba}. Robert Hadden entered the British army as an ensign in the 4th, or King's Own Foot, Jan. 6, 1776, the regiment then being in America. He was promoted to a lieutenancy Nov. 3, 1777, but his military life seems to have

the 11th Gen'l's Burgoyne and *Reidesel*, June 12th S'r Guy Carlton. June 13th the Standard of England^{bb} was hoisted on board the *Radeau*, and saluted by the rest of the Ship-

been brief, as his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1778. He was, undoubtedly, a brother of the author of the text. [B. H.]

bb. This, it is believed, must mean the Royal Standard, as, technically, there is no standard of England. The Royal Standard of Great Britain is a square flag with the national arms covering the entire field without any external accessories. Its appearance denotes the presence of a member of the royal family, and, whenever it is hoisted, it is saluted by every British ship in harbor. The British national ensign is the Union Jack; but as each infantry regiment had a pair of colors, one called the King's [or, in a Queen's reign, the Queen's] color, being the Union Jack charged with some ornamental device, and the other, the Regimental color, with the cypher, number, device, motto and honors of the corps cantoned with a small Union Jack, and as every British vessel carried an Union Jack, we do not think the ordinary national ensign can be referred to in the text. The opinion that the Royal Standard is referred to in the text, is the more firmly entertained, because under the news from London in the *Continental Journal* and *Weekly Advertiser* of Boston for September 19, 1776, the following item appears, viz:—"When all the troops that are gone out arrive in America, it is said that the Royal Standard is to be hoisted in three different parts of the country, when, it is thought, many thousand people, friends to government, finding themselves likely to be supported (who were afraid before to take [sides]) will flock to it."

Although St. John's, where the Standard was hoisted, was in Canada, yet the British government was scarcely less exercised about the loyalty of the Canadians than for that of those across the border. Then, too, the British fleet was about to enter American waters, and Burgoyne's was one of the principal British armies on this side the Atlantic, so that if three Royal Standards were to have been unfurled in America, his army might properly enough have been selected as a fit locality for one of them. As the object of unfurling these Royal Standards was to inspire loyalty and fidelity to the king's person, and was intended to indicate, if not the actual bodily presence of royalty, at least the royal trust and confidence that the king could safely rely on the support of his American subjects, just as members of the royal family are not unfrequently sent to distant parts of the British empire as a mark of favor and confidence, the sending of these symbols of royalty was an ingenious device to arouse a spirit of loyalty, which, it was hoped, only slumbered and was not dead.

Stedman in the second volume of his *History of the American War*, in writing of Cornwallis' advance northward through South Carolina in 1781, says, "Lord Cornwallis, having thus driven General Greene out of the province of North Carolina, returned by easy marches from the banks of the Dan to Hillsborough, where he erected the king's standard, and invited by proclamation all loyal subjects to repair to it, and take an active part in assisting him to restore order and constitutional government."

ping & Forts. The Fleet now consisted of The

<i>Ship</i> <i>Royal George</i>	<i>Iron 12 P'rs.</i> 24 Guns.	<i>Ship</i> <i>Inflexible</i>	<i>19 P'r.</i> 20 Guns.
<i>Brigg</i> <i>Washington</i> ^{bc}	<i>16 P'rs.</i> 16	<i>Schooner</i> <i>Maria</i>	<i>16 P'rs.</i> 14
<i>Schooner</i> Carlton	<i>14 P'rs.</i> 12	<i>Cutter</i> <i>Lee</i> ^{bc}	<i>14 P'rs.</i> 10
<i>Radeau</i> , now carrying	<i>Brass 24 P'rs.</i> 18	<i>Gondolas</i> Loyal Convert	<i>Iron 9.</i> 9
<i>Gondolas</i> <i>Jersey</i> ^{bc}	<i>16 P'rs.</i> 7		

and 24 Gun Boats, Mann'd and armed as last year with Brass Artillery, besides these 4 Gun Boats, as on the former Campaign, were attached to the advanced Corps under B. G. Frazier and never acted with the Fleet, carrying only the Artillery of that light Brigade. The Army was now advanced with part of the Shipping to *Isle au Noix* and *Point a Fer*. The *Barracks*, and *Dock Yard* at St. Johns were now complete for every necessary purpose, and the Works in a state of defence. June 15th The *Loyal Convert*, *Washington* and *Lee* Cutter took out their Guns and were laden with *Artillery*, *Stores*, & *Provisions*, it being known the Enemy had no Fleet sufficient to oppose us: Several *Gun Boats* on a new construction lately sent in pieces from England, were left uncompleted for the same reason. This day Gen'l's Burgoyne & Reidesil set off for the Army.

Monday June 16th '77, I embarked on board the same Gun Boat, I served in last year, carry-

^{bc}. These vessels were taken from the enemy last year. [Hadden's Note.]

ing as before a medium 12 P's Brass, and in company with ye *Radeau*, also serv'd by Artillery, and 23 other Gun Boats sailed from St. Johns; and came to an anchor at the *Isle Au Noix*, 15 miles. The Commanding officer of Artillery with one Company was on board the *Radeau*. Last year this Vessel was commanded by a Lieut. Scott of the *Navy* and this year by a Midshipman the management of the Guns being both years under the Com'g Officer of Artillery's orders. This Vessel appears to be improper for the *Service* as she will neither *Row* or *Sail* even tolerably, is large and unwieldy.

Isle Au Noix. Here we found several *Block Houses* finish'd and the Island in a tolerable state of defence. The 20th Regiment, in Garrison at this place were compensated for a scarcity of Fresh Provisions by the immense quantities of all kinds of Fish taken every where round the Island, which in itself is extremely barren affording a bare subsistence for a few Horses & Cows: before this supply of Fish was to be had (The Lake being Frozen) the Men were much afflicted with the Scurvey and many of them were brought to the *General Hospital*, which during the last year was quarter'd at Montreal: A few Men died, but the majority recover'd, and supplies of Fresh Provisions were latterly sent to them across the *Ice* from St. Johns: The *Spruce Beer* was also served to them & with success.

Wednesday June 18th 1777. We proceeded to the *River La Cole*, 9 Miles: this is a small settlement on the Eastern ^{bd} shore of the Lake. The Man who lived here was a *Taylor*, and having received a sum of Money which he shewed to some of the Soldiers at the *Isle Au Noix* during the last Winter, he was pursued and murder'd, the perpetrators of this horrid deed were discover'd and one of them Executed, there not being sufficient proof against the rest.

Thursday June 19th. Early this morning we sailed with a very fair wind, passed *Point au fer* where a Post of 4 Companies was again established for a Depot, (9 Miles) we passed *Isle au Mot*, and I made a sketch of a Range of Mountains, seen from that part of the Lake. We also passed the Army encamped at *Cummerland head*; passed *Valcour Island*, *Point au Sable*, *Schuylers Island* and some other small Islands called the *four Brothers*, and in the afternoon came to an anchor at *Bouquet Ferry* where the *Elite* of the Army under Brig'r Gen'l Frazer had taken post on the Eastern shore of the Lake. This day was very fine and the passage pleasant, the *Lake* affording many beautiful prospects. It is thought the Lake is wider opposite to *Cummerland Bay* than any other part, for my part I thought it appeared to the full as wide near *Schuylers Island*, being

^{bd.} The river la Colle, or la Cole as of the lake, and not on the eastern shore. Hadden calls it, is on the western shore

there about 12 or 15 Miles across, and for about 60 Miles it does not increase or diminish considerably except under the immediate influence of an Island.

The situation of one Gentleman in a space of 35 Feet by 16 F and 18 Soldiers or Sailors does not appear the most eligible or comfortable as they cannot always be restrained nor wou'd one wish it: the experience of last year taught us to make several little conveniences particularly a kind of separte *Tilt* over the *Magazine* in the Stern of the Boat. This space, about 6 Feet by 5—was sufficient to contain a small *Table* & your *Baggage* &c and cou'd be kept constantly cover'd when not *Rowing* against the *Wind*, that being necessary the Cover was removed and the necessary *Sticks* remain'd bent & standing: in Wet weather this was a very considerable inconvenience. Soldiers meet with many and temporary reliefs are all he can hope in this kind of War. When at an Anchor the Men & Officer put up each their cover and except one *Sentry* went to rest. The Men put up two lashed Oars at each end and by means of a *Fifth* communicating with these spread the Sail over them, which proved a sufficient defence against most Rains. The rest of the Fleet were now *Anchor'd* at *Split Rock* in sight of this Post and Six Miles



from it. The *Maria* excepted, she remained to bring up the Generals.

June 20th Gen'l Burgoyne came up in the *Maria*. This day I visited a detached post of the light Infantry, two Miles up the River at *Galinel's Farm*,^{be} this is situate at the foot of a small *Water Fall*, where a great number of small Salmon were caught.^{bf} The River is not above

^{be}. *Galinel's Farm* is, undoubtedly, a corruption of *Gilliland's farm*, as *William Gilliland* not only owned the farm in question, but also a large tract of land embracing that immediate section. He was born in Ireland about 1734, and received a liberal education at the literary institution of Armagh. He was a man of cultivated mind, fine person, and polished manners, but the result of an unfortunate love affair drove him to enlist in the army. After his discharge in 1758 he emigrated to New York where he achieved mercantile success and married. After the peace of 1763 he bought up a number of military land claims so that he became possessed of a domain on and about the river *Boquet*, having a front on *Lake Champlain* of more than six miles and ranging from three to four miles in the interior. There he established a colony similar to that of *Col. Skene* at *Skeneborough*. He was a patriot in the struggle for independence, and *Gen. Carleton* offered a reward of \$500 for his apprehension. He incurred the enmity of *Benedict Arnold* who sought to throw a cloud upon his patriotism, but in vain, though the attempt caused *Gilliland* no little inconvenience and embarrassment. At the beginning of the Revolution he was rich and prosperous, but the war destroyed his mills, houses and crops, and drove him from his estates; and after the war he fell into pecuniary

decay, and died in Feb., 1796, in reduced circumstances. His descendants still survive, and some of his grandchildren occupy a portion of the original estate. For an interesting sketch of this enterprising pioneer the reader is referred to *Mr. Winslow C. Watson's "Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley; being An Account of the Settlement of the Town of Willsborough by William Gilliland, together with his Journal and other papers, and a Memoir, and Historical and Illustrative Notes."*

^{bf}. "The early settlers of the valley of *Lake Champlain*, found the streams upon both sides filled with salmon. They were very large, and among the most delicate and luscious of all fish. At that period they were abundant and so fearless as to be taken with great ease and in immense quantities. A record exists of five hundred having been killed in the *Boquet* in one afternoon, and as late as 1823 about fifteen hundred pounds of salmon were taken by a single haul of a seine, near *Port Kendall*. They have been occasionally found within the last twenty years, in some of the most rapid streams, but have now totally disappeared. The secluded haunts they loved, have been invaded; dams have impeded their wonted routes; the filth of occupied streams has disturbed their cleanly habits, or the clangor of steamboats and machinery has

150 yards wide, the Troops at this and the main post of this Corps on the edge of the Lake, were encamped on separate sides of the Bouquet River. I did not learn from what cause this upper Post was taken, but as the mouth of this River is sometimes called *Bouquet Ferry* possibly the above Farm may have communication with the Country & a Ferry across the Lake has been formerly kept here. ^{by} The soil tho. sandy seems fertile. It may not be improper to remark that there are but very few settlements on the Lake (not 20) and those only single Houses.

alarmed their fears. Each of these causes is assigned as a circumstance that has deprived the country of an important article of food and a choice luxury." [M. Q. 351]

eg. Although the topography of Burgoyné's campaign has engaged the attention of many writers and is generally so well known, yet none of them make any mention of the ferry, alluded to in the text. The only reference to it, seen by the editor, is contained in "*The Elizabethtown Post and Gazette*" for December 4, 1879, published in Essex county, New York, for a copy of which we are indebted to Winslow C. Watson, Esq. Under the Willsborough news in that paper is a description of a Thanksgiving dinner given at Willsboro. Point by Mrs. Solomon Clark, in which this passage occurs: "Old times, and new, were discussed in a way to put the current historical accounts of the Champlain Valley quite in the shade. Experience and every day life through a period of eighty years or more, furnish great variety of incident, and the narratives of the afternoon would

make a volume. One story of the early settlement of Willsboro' Point arrested our attention, and we noted the facts with a good deal of interest. As a matter of course exact dates were wholly ignored on this free and easy occasion, but it appears that at a very early period a man named Wilson obtained a patent of land from the Crown of England, and with his family, consisting of a wife and three children, came over and settled on a portion of the land, a little north of Flat Rock, on what has since been known as the Capt. Landon farm, now occupied by David Jones. The log cabin stood on the old road that follows the bends of the lake all the way along, and being spliced by a ferry at the mouth of the Bouquet, branched off toward the Point, closely following the lake shore on the east side. The old inhabitants all remember this road, traces of which are still visible." Then follows an account of the Wilson family as told by "Grandpa Clark," who has been ascertained by Mr. Watson to be Orrin Clark, and who was eighty-two years of age, January 2, 1880.

Copy of Gen'l Burgoyne's Proclamation.

By *John Burgoyne* Esq'r; Lieut Gen'l of His Majesties Armies in America, Col. of the Queens Reg't of Lt. Dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, and Commanding an Army and Fleet employed on an expedition from Canada &c &c &c.

The Forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous Armies and Fleets which already display in every quarter of America, the power, the justice, and when properly sought the mercy of the King. The cause in which the British Arms are thus exerted applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart; and the military Servants of the Crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of constitution, now combine with love of their Country, and duty to their Sovereign, the other extensive incitements which spring from a due sense of the general privileges of Mankind. To the Eyes and Ears of the temperate part of the Public, and to the breasts of suffering Thousands in the Provinces, be the melancholy appeal whether the present unnatural Rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of Tyranny that ever God in his displeasure suf-

fer'd for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn Generation. Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture, unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Romish Church are among the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted, (by Assemblies & Committees who dare to profess themselves friends to Liberty,) upon the most quiet Subjects, without distinction of age or Sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle to the Government under which they were born, and to which by every tie divine and human they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings the profanation of Religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason, the consciences of Men are set at naught and multitudes are compelled not only to bear Arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor. Animated by these considerations; at the head of Troops in full powers of health, discipline, and Valour; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I by these presents invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this Army may point — and by the blessing of God I will extend it far — to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their Lands, habitations, and Families. The intention of this address is to hold forth

security not depredation to the Country. To those whom spirit and principle may induce to partake the glorious task of redeeming their Countrymen from Dungeons, and reestablishing the blessings of legal Government I offer encouragement and employment; and upon the first intelligence of their associations I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm, and even the timid inhabitants I am desirous to protect provided they remain quietly at their Houses, that they do not suffer their Cattle to be removed, nor their Corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed, that they do not break up their Bridges or Roads; nor by any other acts directly or indirectly endeavour to obstruct the operations of the Kings Troops, or supply or assist those of the Enemy.

Every species of Provision brought to my Camp will be paid for at an equitable rate and in solid Coin.

In consciousness of Christianity, my Royal Masters clemency, and the honor of Soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression; and let not people be led to disregard it by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my Camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian Forces under my direction, and they amount to Thousands, to overtake the harden'd

Enemies of Great Britain and America, (I consider them the same) wherever they may lurk. If notwithstanding these endeavours, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrenzy of hostility shou'd remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the Eyes of God & Men in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice & of wrath await them in the Field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of Military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

By order of his (Signed) JOHN BURGoyNE,
 Excellency the Lt. Gen'l
 (Signed) Rob't Kingston. *bh*
 Secretary.

Camp at Bouquet Ferry June 20th, 1777.

bh. Robert Kingston entered the British army as an ensign in the 11th Foot, Sept. 3, 1756, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 2d Battalion of that regiment, Jan. 26, 1758, which battalion was re-numbered, April 21st of that year, as the 64th. Aug. 8, 1759, he exchanged into the 16th, or the Queen's Regiment of Light Dragoons, then commanded by Lieut.-Col. John Burgoyne, with whom he served in Portugal; and April 27, 1761, he became a captain, and July 15, 1768, a major in that corps. He exchanged, in 1774, with a captain on the half-pay list of the 112th Foot; but two years later he returned to active service, and, April 17,

1776, became a captain of Invalids in Ireland.¹ The next year he accompanied Burgoyne to Canada as his deputy-adjutant-general², and he became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, Aug. 29, 1777.³ As Burgoyne's chief of staff he occupied a prominent position during the campaign, and succeeded Sir Francis Clerke, who was mortally wounded at B mus' Heights, Oct. 7th, as secretary of the lieutenant-general.⁴

When Burgoyne opened the negotiations with Gates that eventuated in a surrender, Lt.-Col. Kingston was an active instrumentality; and Gen. Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, affords us some interesting details of the British adjutant-

June 21st The Gun Boats joined the rest of the Fleet at *Split Rock* (6 miles). 23d: The Fleet warped up to *Otter Creek* (3 miles) on the

general. "At the hour appointed," says Wilkinson "I repaired to the advanced post, accompanied by Mr. Henry Livingston, of the upper manor on the Hudson's river. The bridge across the Fish-kill had been destroyed, but the sleepers remained. We did not wait many minutes before the chamade was beat at the advanced guard of the enemy, and an officer descending the hill, stepped across the creek on one of the sleepers of the late bridge; it was 'Major Kingston, with a message from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Major-general Gates.' I named to him 'Colonel Wilkinson, on the part of General Gates, to receive the message.' He paused a moment, pulled out a paper, looked at it, and observed, 'My orders direct me to Major-general Gates.' 'It is to save time and trouble that I am authorised to receive the message you bear.' He then took General Gates's note to General Burgoyne from his pocket, read it, and said 'General Gates has agreed to receive the message, and I am not authorised to deliver it to any other person.' 'Well then, Sir, you must submit to be hood-winked.' He affected to start at the proposition, and objected, on the ground of its being an indignity: I could but smile at the expression, and observed, that 'I had understood there was nothing more common, than to blindfold military messengers, when they were admitted within the walls of a place, or the guards of a camp.' He replied, 'Well, Sir, I will submit to it, but under the express stipulation, that no indignity is intended to the British arms.' I then carefully bound up his eyes with his own handkerchief; he took my arm, and in this way we walked upwards of a mile to headquarters. Major Kingston appeared to be about

forty; he was a well formed, ruddy, handsome man, and expatiated with taste and eloquence on the beautiful scenery of the Hudson's river, and the charms of the season: when I introduced him into General Gates's tent, and named him, the gentlemen saluted each other familiarly, with 'General Gates, your servant,'—'Ah! Kingston, how do you do?' and a shake of the hand. Being seated a few minutes, he arose and observed he had certain communications to make Major-general Gates from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and to guard against inaccuracy of memory, he had committed them to paper, and with permission would read them. The General consented, and the Major took from his pocket and read. . . . "So soon as he had finished, to my utter astonishment, General Gates put his hand to his side pocket, pulled out a paper, and presented it to Kingston, observing 'There, Sir, are the terms on which General Burgoyne must surrender.' The Major appeared thunderstruck, but read the paper, whilst the old chief surveyed him attentively through his spectacles. Having finished the perusal of the propositions of General Gates, Major Kingston appeared exceedingly mortified, and said to the General, 'I must beg leave to decline delivering this paper to Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, because, although I cannot presume to speak for him, I think the propositions it contains cannot be submitted to.' The General observed that he might be mistaken, and that there could be no impropriety in his delivering them. Kingston requested they might be sent by one of his own officers, which the General declined, and remarked, 'that as he had brought the message, he ought to take back the answer;' to which the Major reluctantly consented,

Western Shore of the Lake. This Creek is here about 100 y'ds wide, and runs up the Country more than a hundred & fifty Miles towards New

took leave and I again filleted him, and at his request conducted him to our advanced guard. Very different was his conversation in returning, he complained of General Gates's propositions, to which I was still a perfect stranger; talked of the pride and spirit of his army, and called my recollection to the feats performed by six British regiments at the battle of Minden. I felt for his chagrin, and said nothing to increase it; and having passed him beyond our guards, I hastened back to headquarters, filled with uneasiness by the course which General Gates had adopted. . . .

"About sun-set the same day it was notified to me that a flag waited at the advanced guard, and I proceeded to receive it. I again met Major Kingston, who presented another message from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Major-general Gates, accompanied by the propositions of the latter, which had been transmitted by Major Kingston, and the answers of the former annexed, together with the preliminary articles, proposed by General Burgoyne, which were substantially assented to by General Gates."

We do not know when Lt.-Col. Kingston returned to England, but June 3, 1779, he testified before a committee of the House of Commons in regard to Burgoyne's expedition.² He became the lieut.-col. of the 86th Foot, Sept. 30th, of that year, and was transferred to the 28th Oct. 13, of the following year.¹ A little later he was Lieut.-Gov. of Demerara, and when that island surrendered to the French expedition under Count Kysaint Feb. 3, 1782, he, with the British naval commander at that place, signed the capitulation. Lieut.-Gov. Kingston's proposals for terms contained the following rather singular proposition:

"vi. The Lieut.-Gov. for himself requires, that not having troops with him, he may be considered in a civil capacity, and at liberty to join and do duty with his Britannic Majesty's 18th Regt., of which he has the honor to be Lieut.-Col." To this the following answer was returned: "vi. Lt.-Gov. Kingston having retired himself to his Britannic Majesty's squadron, from whence he has made his particular proposals which were rejected, I cannot but consider him in a military capacity, jointly with the commander of the squadron."⁴

Lieut.-Col. Kingston became a colonel in the army Nov. 20, 1781⁵, but his next important service was in a quasi civil capacity. A bill was introduced into the British parliament, and passed without opposition in June, 1783, entitled "An Act appointing Commissioners to inquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties and possessions during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his Majesty and attachment to the British Government." The commissioners named were John Wilmot, M.P., Daniel Parker Coke, M.P., Col. Robert Kingston, Col. Thomas Dundas, and John Marsh, who, after preliminary preparations, began their inquiry in the first week of Oct., 1783, and proceeded with short intermissions through the following winter and spring. The time for presenting claims was first limited by the Act to the 25th of March, 1784; but, by subsequent acts, the powers of the commissioners were extended, persons were authorized to be sent to America to procure information in regard to claims, and the time for presenting claims was

England.^{bi} Tuesday, June 24th, a large detachment of Savages and *Rangers* (i. e. British Marks men) were sent up Otter Creek to bring in Forrage. The Fleet proceeded to *Crown Point* (about 20 miles) where we came to an Anchor. June 25th Gen'l Frazer came up with his Brigade, and encamp'd at Crown Point. I received a Letter from *Bob* dated Chatham Barracks March 5th-77. Thursday June 26th Gen'ls Burgoyne, Phillips & Reidesil came up with the army, and we received the following order Given out at Cumberlاند Head June 18th 1777. General disposition of the Army. The advanced Corps of the Army under the Command of Brig'r Gen'l Frazer will be joined by the Canadian Corps of Capt'ns *Monin*^{bj} & *Boucherville*^{bk},

extended from time to time until 1789, on May 15th of which year the commissioners presented their twelfth and last report; and Parliament finally disposed of the whole matter in 1790, seven years after its commencement.⁵

Col. Kingston became a major general Oct. 12, 1793, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in this latter year.¹ [¹ B. H. ² F. E. 77: B. N. 72. ³ M. T. 299. ⁴ K. K. 333. ⁵ K. U. 168-170]

^{bi}. Otter Creek is on the eastern, and not on the western shore.

^{bj}. There were at least three officers of the name of Monin, or Monins, in the 60th, or Royal American Reg't of Foot, during the war that resulted in the conquest of Canada, one of

whom was a captain, and the others subalterns. Some went on half-pay at the peace of 1763, and the officer referred to in the text was probably one of these, but which one, has not been ascertained. Sanguinet, in his Journal, frequently speaks of an officer of this name in referring to Montgomery's invasion of Canada, and calls him an officer of distinction—"officier de distinction." According to Sanguinet this officer must have been well skilled in irregular warfare, for he was dispatched on many scouts and petty expeditions. Oct. 9, 1775, McKay, referred to in the text, and Monin, with 20 Canadian volunteers, were dispatched to the camp of Gen Montgomery to take some prisoners. They encountered eight Americans with whom they had a skirmish [¹ *un petit combat*"] in which some of the Amer-

^{bk}. See Appendix 12.

Cap't Frazer's *bl* detachment and a body of *Savages*. The German Grenadiers and Lt Infantry under the command of Lt Col. Brymen *bm*, form a Corps of reserve, and the Regiment of *Reidesil's* Dragoons is also out of the Line, and for the present will be employed to cover head

icans were wounded, and one taken prisoner. On the 29th of the same month a similar force, under the same leaders, likewise pounced upon a prisoner in the neighborhood of the American camp.¹ Sir Guy Carleton wrote from Quebec to Gen. Phillips, under date of Nov. 20, 1776, as follows: "With respect to Mr. Monin you may let him know that he and the officers who served under him shall be paid in like manner according to their ranks, as the officers of the English Troops. If Mr. Monin can raise a complete company for the ensuing campaign I shall approve of its being employed."² This active partizan was undoubtedly the officer of that name that accompanied Burgoyne on his campaign in 1777. [¹K. Y., 69-75. ²F. B., 270, 271.]

bl See Appendix 13.

bm. Lieut.-Colonel Heinrich Christoph Breymann commanded the grenadier battalion which formed a part of the German troops sent to re-inforce Gen. Carleton in the spring of 1776. He was the third ranking officer among the Brunswickers; and, as in case of accident to Col. Specht it was the Duke of Brunswick's orders that he should assume command of Specht's regiment, it is presumed that he was the lieut.-colonel of the Regiment Specht, detached to the command of a temporary battalion of light troops. Lieut.-Col. Breymann participated in Burgoyne's campaign, on which he commanded the German light brigade. He was ordered to the relief of Baum at

Bennington, and much adverse criticism has been made upon his tardy advance whereby it is asserted Baum was sacrificed. Breymann's own report upon the matter is to be found at page 256 of vol. 1, of Max Von Eelking's *Memoirs, Journals and Letters of Major General Riedesel and of Lt Gen. Burgoyne*, under date of Aug. 25, 1777, wrote to Gen. Riedesel, as follows: "I have had the honor of receiving your three letters, and have thoroughly considered the report of Colonel Breymann. Nothing can be said against the troops in regard to bravery. It is certain that the march of Mr. Breymann was very slow. It would have been better if he had left his artillery behind to follow after him under an escort, than to have delayed re-enforcing the troops." After Baum's defeat Breymann was attacked and repulsed with heavy loss, but managed to withdraw under cover of approaching darkness, himself being wounded.

In the affair at Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7, 1777, Breymann was assaulted by Benedict Arnold and the former was killed and the latter severely wounded. Max Von Eelking, after referring to the attack on Burgoyne's great redoubt, says: "Another body at the same time attacked the embankments of Breymann's division in front and on the left flank. The grenadiers comprising this corps, fought bravely, but being only two hundred strong, and their commander—the chivalric Breymann—being shot dead, they were compelled to retreat. This latter misfortune was owing to the fact that

Quarters. The Provincial Corps of Peters,^{bn} & Jessop^{bo} are also out of the Line. The Recruits of the 33d and other Regiments under Lieut. Nutt, are for the present to serve on board the Fleet. The Line upon the next movement will

the Canadian companies, belonging to the reconnoitering expedition, were absent from their place, by the side of this corps, part of them being in the great redoubt, and the others not having returned to their position. Had they been in their places, it would have been impossible to surround the left flank of Breymann." [K. M., 26, 63, 165, 251, 256, 272; K. N., 266.]

^{bn} See Appendix 14.

^{bo} Dr. A. W. Holden, in his valuable History of the Town of Queensbury, in the state of New York, thus refers to the Jessup brothers, one of whom is mentioned in the text, and both of whom were on Burgoyne's expedition. "At the outbreak of the revolution," writes the Doctor, "there was probably no where in this vicinity a stronger tory nest than that existing across the west mountain, some ten miles distant from Queensbury settlement, under the favor and encouragement of the brothers, Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, sharp, enterprising and apparently unscrupulous business men, who had, from time to time, secured the grant of various patents of land not only within the limits of the present town of Luzerne, but also the extensive tracts known as the Hyde township and Totten and Crossfield's purchase, which embraced the greater portion of the northern part of Warren, as well as part of Essex and Hamilton counties. It has already been shown that they held title to lands in the town of Queensbury, and that lumber had been sawed for them at an early date at the Queensbury mills.

The private accounts of Abraham Wing also exhibit charges against them for entertainment of a very liberal and generous character, at Wing's tavern. Somewhere about the year 1770, Ebenezer removed to this then wilderness region, and built him a spacious log dwelling on the farm now occupied by Thurlow Leavins, and on the brook near by, erected a saw and grist mill. From him, the cataract a few miles below on the Hudson derived the commonly received name of Jessup's falls. There, until after the commencement of the revolutionary war he maintained a state and style of living which bespoke opulence, taste, culture, and familiarity with the elegancies and customs of the best provincial society. If tradition is to be credited, his commodious and comfortable dwelling, however rude may have been its exterior, was the frequent theatre of hospitable entertainments, its rooms garnished with elegant furniture, its walls embellished with costly paintings and choice engravings, its capacious tables arrayed in spotless linen and imported covers, and loaded with massive silver plate. All of this, with the many costly fittings and adjuncts of such a house was at a later date plundered and carried away.

"Edward Jessup, whose patent included and covered the site of 'the present village of Luzerne also erected at this point a dwelling and mills, the first in the vicinity. The picturesque rapids and fall, which has altogether a descent of eighteen or twenty feet, hence derived the name of Jessup's little falls. . . The Jessup brothers owned a ferry across the

encamp in order of Battle as follows, and will continue the same order, (viz)—

Left Wing. 1st Brigade	Germans 2d Brigade	Right Wing. 2d Brigade	British 1st Brigade
Reg'ts of Rheitz . 1 Specht . 2 Reidesil . 3. under	Reg'ts of 1. Prince Frederick and 2. Hanau	Reg'ts 20th — 1. 21st — 2. 62d — 3.	Reg'ts 9th — 1. 53d — 2. 47th — 3.
B. G'l Specht.	Br'r Gen'l Goll.	B. G. Powel.	B. G. Hamilton.

If it becomes necessary to form two Lines, the second Line is to be formed by the 2d Brigade British doubling on the 1st, and the 2d Brigade

Hudson above the High falls, and the name of Jessup's landing on the Corinth side of the river is perpetuated to this day." After referring to divers other prominent Tory families in the same vicinity, Dr. Holden proceeds as follows: "According to the tradition, in the month of April or May, 1777, Indian runners were despatched to these families, notifying them of Burgoyne's intended approach, and probably with some suggestions in regard to their cooperation with certain bands of Tories gathering in the lower part of the Saratoga district. However this may be, notice of their intentions was received, and a party of Whigs were despatched in pursuit, the latter coming from the direction of Ballston. So hot was the chase, that it is said one of the Jessups only secured his escape by jumping across the river at the Little Falls. From thence he escaped across the town of Queensbury to Skenesborough, at the head of Lake Champlain, and eventually found his way to Burgoyne's camp at Willsborough falls. After Gates had assumed command of the army, he sent Lieut. Ellis with a party of men to arrest the Jessups and other Tories in that vicinity, but finding them gone he, in pursuance of orders,

destroyed the settlement, laid waste their fields and left nothing standing of their improvements but the mills. It is believed that these were afterwards destroyed. The houses had already been pillaged, and everything of value carried away."

Dr. Holden asserts that Ebeneser was the Major Jessup that had a command in Burgoyne's army, and that Edward must be the one referred to as fleeing from the Whig party in April or May, 1777, as at that time Ebeneser was in Canada with his command. The above is, substantially, all that we have been able to find in print in regard to the Jessups, no mention of them occurring in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution;" and even Dr. Holden has confused the two brothers somewhat. Both brothers fled to Canada in 1776, and as they were led by Gov. Tryon, of New York, to believe that they would have important commands, their presence in Canada caused Sir Guy Carleton no little perplexity as shown by letters written by him and others at that period, and which throw light upon the movements of the Jessups and the formation of provincial corps in Canada. These letters tell their own story so authoritatively that they

of Germans doubling in the same manner on their 1st. Gen'l Orders. Ligonier Bay June 20th. Lt. Gen'l Burgoyne takes the occasion of the Army assembling to express publicly the high opinion he entertains of the Troops which his Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to intrust to his Command, they cou'd not be selected more to his satisfaction ; and the Lieut'n General trusts it will be received as one mark of his attention

are given at length, and are as follows :

"Sir Guy Carleton to Mr. Jessop.

"HEAD QUARTERS AT QUEBEC,
19th November, 1776.

"Sir : I am commanded to acquaint you that Sir Guy Carleton has received your letter of the 15th Instant and will in a few days answer it fully ; in the meantime His Excellency desires you will send him a list of the persons who accompany you, and the particulars of the information which you mention to have given relative to the operations of General Howe's army &c., General Phillips not having transmitted them.

"I am &c.

"To Mr. Jessop."

"Sir Guy Carleton to Maj. Gen. Phillips.

"HEAD QUARTERS AT QUEBEC,
29th November, 1776.

"Sir : The plan approved by Gov. Tryon as Mr. Jessop reports seems to me very judicious ; it is to be wished this Gentleman and his followers had remained at their own homes till it remained practicable ; it cannot now take place before next summer ; in the meantime I should recommend it to them to join Sir John Johnson's regiment and enclosed is an order for Major Grey to take them under his command,

to pay three of those destined by Gov. Tryon to be officers as Captains, half the remainder as Lieutenants, the other half as Ensigns, three of the remainder as Sergeants, three as Corporals, and the rest as privates.

"Mr. Jessop will declare upon his honour who are destined as officers and rank them according to merit. Major Grey will pay them at that rate from the day they joined the King's forces, and may either cloath them as the Royal Reg't of New York, or buy them some cheap uniform cloathing to keep them from the severity of the weather as you shall be pleased to direct.

"This is not intended to interfere with any project of Mr. Tryon's to advance them higher but merely as an asylum, till they can do better for themselves ; they will then be at liberty both men and officers, if, on reflection they do not think it more advisable to be incorporated with that corps."

"Sir Guy Carleton to Mr. Eben. Jessop.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,
1st December, 1776.

"Sir : I have it in command to acquaint you that His Excellency, the Com'd'r in Chief, has been pleased to make provision for the present for your party, after a manner the particulars of

to their glory and welfare, that with the promise of every encouragement the Service will allow, He declares a determination, and he calls on every officer to assist him to maintain a steady, uniform system of subordination and obedience. The following standing regulations are laid down to prevent the necessity of lengthening the daily orders, and are to be invariably observed.

Officers of all Ranks commanding Posts, and Detachments, are constantly to Fortify in the

which will be communicated to you by Maj. Gen. Phillips whom you will accordingly apply to for that purpose.

"I am likewise to signify to you that Mr. Jones is to be paid as a Surgeon's Mate "

"Sir Guy Carleton to Major Grey.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,

"1st Dec., 1776.

"SIR: His Excellency, the Com'd'r in Chief, having made provision, the particulars of which have been communicated to Maj. Gen. Phillips, for the party of the inhabitants of New York who have joined the King's corps under the conduct of the Messrs. Jessops, I am commanded to acquaint you that upon the said parties joining your reg't you are to receive them under your command, to victual them in like manner as the troops and pay them as officers, non-commissioned officers and privates according to a list which shall be delivered to you by Mr. Ebenezer Jessop, approved by Maj. Gen. Phillips."

"Sir Guy Carleton to Maj. Gen. Phillips.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,

"12th December, 1776.

"SIR: I have rec'd your four letters of the 7th of this month.

"It is my intention that the Messrs. Jessops should be two of the three Captains I have mentioned, if they chuse to accept of it, as a provision for them in their present situation; if they do not the number of Captains will be so much the less.

"I cannot enter into Mr. Tryon's designs with regard to these gentlemen, nor can I form Battalions of officers upon every application, especially where the appearance of men for them is so little. If hereafter from a concourse of people to join the army I should find that it may be of use for His Majesty's service to form corps of them it will be time enough to consider then of the proper persons to set at their head, but at present I cannot alter the regulations I have made and signified to you above and by my letters of 29th Nov'r. Mr. Adams I think, may be satisfied with the rank and allowance of a Lieutenant."

"Sir Guy Carleton to Maj. Gen. Phillips.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,

"23d March, 1777.

"SIR: . . . I have upon several occasions acquainted you that neither the Jessop's party nor any of the others taking refuge with the army belong to the Corps of Sir John Johnston, but are only

best manner the circumstances of the place, and the implements at hand will permit; Felling *Trees* with their points outwards, Barracading Churches and Houses; Brest works of earth and Timber are generally to be effected in a short time, and the Science of Engineering is not necessary to find and apply such resources. The practice of Fortifying which is very useful in all

attached to it in order to be under the care of Major Gray; the paying therefore Atherton and Smith as officers can have no relation to that reg't, and I gave Major Gray directions again when I was in Montreal to account with them for their allowance."

"Sir Guy Carleton to Maj. Gen. Phillips.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,

"3d April, 1777.

"Sir: . . . I know no such thing as Jessup's Corps, mentioned by Major Gray, nor did I direct that Adams' party should be compelled to join Mr. Jessup's and his followers; they are at liberty to follow what plan of life they please except that they must be obliged to continue in a fixed residence, and not move from it but by permission from you or Major Gray, as it is improper for many reasons that they should straggle about the country. I have given full directions about all these people in my former letters to which I must refer you."

By an "Abstract of Subsistence claimed by the several Corps of Loyalists for the Campaign 1777, under Lieut. Gen'l Burgoyne, and likewise private claims for provisions furnished to his army as adjudged by a Board of Officers assembled at St. John's in February, 1781," £1028 13s. 8½d., were allowed "to Eben'zr Jessup, Esq., Sub'ce for the Corps under his command."

It is not quite easy to get at Burgoyne's real opinion of the provincial corps under him. In writing to Lord George Germain from Skenesborough under date of July 11, 1777, when everything had gone well with him, Burgoyne says:—"Mr. Peters and Mr. Jessup, who came over to Canada last autumn, and proposed to raise battalions, one from the neighbourhood of Albany, the other from Charlotte county, are confident of success as the army advances. Their battalions are now in embryo, but very promising; they have fought, and with spirit. Sir Guy Carleton has given me blank commissions for the officers, to fill up occasionally, and the agreement with them is, that the commissions are not to be so effective, till two-thirds of the battalions are raised. Some hundreds of men, a third part of them with arms, have joined me since I have penetrated this place, professing themselves loyalists, and wishing to serve, some to the end of the war, some for the campaign. Though I am without instructions upon this subject, I have not hesitated to receive them, and as fast as companies can be formed, I shall post the officers till a decision can be made upon the measure by my superiors. I mean to employ them particularly upon detachments, for keeping the country in awe, and procuring cattle, their real use I expect will be great in the preservation of the national troops: but the impression which will be caused upon public opinion,

Services is particularly so in this, where the enemy infinitely inferior to the Kings Troops in open space, and hardy combat, is well fitted by disposition and practice, for the stratagems and enterprizes of little War; and neither the distance of Camps, nor the interference of Forrests and Rivers, are to be looked upon as security against his attempts; upon the same principle must be a constant rule, in or near Woods to place advanced

should provincials be seen acting vigorously in the cause of the King, will be yet more advantageous, and, I trust, fully justify the expense."³ When reviewing the evidence taken by the House of Commons in 1779, after having been embittered by defeat, Burgoyne says:—"The Provincial Corps, of which I had two in embryo, and several detached parties, were yet a heavier tax upon time and patience. They were composed of professed Loyalists, many of whom had taken refuge in Canada the preceding winter, and others had joined as we advanced. The various interests which influenced their actions rendered all arrangement of them impracticable. One man's views went to the profit which he was to enjoy when his corps should be complete; another's, to the protection of the district in which he resided; a third was wholly intent upon revenge against his personal enemies; and all of them were repugnant even to an idea of subordination. Hence the settlement who should act as a private man, and who as an officer, or in whose corps either should be, was seldom satisfactorily made among themselves; and as surely as it failed, succeeded a reference to the Commander in Chief, which could not be put by, or delegated to another hand, without dissatisfaction,

increase of confusion, and generally a loss of such services as they were really fit for, viz. searching for cattle, ascertaining the practicability of routes, clearing roads, and guiding detachments or columns upon the march."

In a note he adds,—"I would not be understood to infer, that none of the Provincials with me were sincere in their loyalty; perhaps many were so. A few were of distinguished bravery. . . . I only maintain that the interests and the passions of the revolted Americans concurred in the cause of the Congress; and those of the Loyalists break and subdivide into various pursuits, with which the cause of the King has little or nothing to do."⁴

The loyalist corps that served under Burgoyne, seem to have led a precarious existence after their return to Canada, as we find a warrant evidently antedated Quebec, July 19, 1779, issued by order of Gen. Haldimand for the payment of £1634 8s. 10d. ster'g, "being the allowance made for the present relief of several Corps of Royalists belonging to Gen. Burgoyne's Army, and sundry other persons who have taken refuge in this province from the Rebellious Colonies between the 25th June and 24th August, 1779, inclusive." The "Subsistence Return for Royalists commanded by

Centries, where they may have a Tree or some other defence to prevent their being taken off by single Marksmen. Together with these precautions, Officers will ever bear in mind, how much the publick honor & their own are concerned in maintaining a Post, and that to justify a retreat, in the present War the numbers of the Enemy must (*be*) superior to that which wou'd make their justification, when acting against Brave

Capt. McAlpine," on which the above warrant was issued, shows that the money was for the following parties, as the Return denominated them—

	men
" Capt. Daniel McAlpine	78
Mr. Jessups	98
Mr. Peters	61
Part of Capt'n Leake's	30
" Mr. Adams's	34
Those not attached to parties	36
	337 "

Of these Capt. McAlpine, Eben'zr Jessup, Edward Jessup, John Peters, and Justus Sherwood, the latter being in Peters's party, as well as some others, each received £30.^s

Later on, in 1779, Gen. Haldimand determined to reorganize these loyalist corps, if possible, as shown by his letter to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, Nov. 1st, 1779, and which is as follows:

"MY LORD: I have the honor to represent to your Lordship that several Gentlemen amongst whom are Capt. McAlpin (formerly a Capt'n in the 60th Reg't), Mr. Leake (son of the late Commissary General), Messrs. Peters and Jessup, having in consequence of Gov. Tryon's Proclamation raised corps, with whom they joined Gen. Burgoyne's Army, but having been by his misfortune dis-

persed, they took refuge in this Province, with part of their men, and made application to me to have their corps re-established and put upon the same footing with the Provincial Corps that have joined the Southern Army, but the difficulty I found in procuring men for the Royal Emigrants, and Sir John Johnson's Corps, and fearing that raising others might interfere with their success, I from time to time put them off. Finding these Reg'ts have not benefitted by my design and seeing that the Trial may be made without much Expense to Government (these Gentlemen with a number of other Refugees Loyalists, being indispensably supported at the public expense) and that such Corps once raised would be useful, particularly as they will be recruited upon the Frontier of Hampshire, and give an influence towards Vermont and that neighborhood, I have thought it expedient to make the attempt and shall begin with Two Battalions.

"I shall not give the officers commissions until their men are raised, and in proportion to their success, I shall enlarge the Plan, trusting I shall be fortunate to obtain the King's approbation of what I do for the best, and that I shall be enabled to fulfil the expectations of these Gentlemen by putting them upon the footing with the other Provincials serving with the Army. As soon as the Winter

and disciplined Forces; The Officers will take all proper opportunities to inculcate in the Men's minds a reliance on the Bayonet; Men of their bodily strength and even a Coward may be their match in Firing; But the Bayonet in the hands of the Valiant is irresistible. The Enemy convinced of this will place their whole dependence in Intrenchments and Rifle Pieces; It will be our glory, and our preservation to Storm when possible.

order
June
21,
1777

The attention of every officer in action is to be employed in his Men; to make use of a *Fusil* except in very extraordinary occasions of immediate personal defence, wou'd betray an igno-

sets in I shall permit them to send out people and to employ their Friends upon the Frontiers in raising men and shall give them every assistance in my power to effect their purpose

"I shall at the same time set about raising some companies of Canadians . . . and shall need arms for the purpose."⁶

How rapidly success attended this enterprise we do not know, save that we find a list of "Officers in a Corps of Royalists to be commanded by Major Edward Jessup," whose commissions bore date in November, 1781, Major Jessup's being dated Nov. 12th. This corps was called the Loyal, or Royal Rangers, and its list of officers likewise contains Pension and Invalid Lists, which latter list is as follows:

"Pensioners" { "Lieut. Col. Jessup as Captain 17th Nov., 1781
Gilbert Sharp as Lieut. 23d Nov., 1781
Edward Jessup, Ensign, 24th Nov., 1781"⁷

Edward Jessup must likewise have commanded a corps in 1780, as in the "Return of the killed and wounded of the detachment under the command of Major Carleton, the 11th of October, 1780," in the Northern Invasion of New York in that year, we find reported in "Major Jessup's corps 1 private wounded"⁸

Both Ebenezer and Edward Jessup were included in the New York Act of Attainder, all their property being confiscated.

Ebenezer probably settled in Canada at the end of the war, and Edward undoubtedly did, as, in the *Quebec Gazette* for Jan. 13, 1791, in a list of civil promotions we find the name of Edward Jessup, Esq., as a Justice of the Peace for the District of Montreal. [¹ F. B. 266, 279, 282, 283, 298, 391, 401. ² F. G. 94. ³ B. N. App. 20. ⁴ B. N. 102. ⁵ F. F. 150, 152, 154. ⁶ F. H. 266. ⁷ F. E. 180, 181: F. M. 81. ⁸ G. K. 136.]

rance of his importance, and of his duty. No occasion can make it necessary to keep the Arms loaded in the Bell Tents,^{bp} nor are the Battalions of the Line ever to be loaded upon the March 'till very near the time when they may be expected to engage. No parties are to go from Camp with or without arms without a proportionable number of officers. Not only discipline and honor but also the safety of the Troops require the strictest prohibition from straggling and plundering, and the Savages and Provost will have orders to punish offenders in these respects instantly, and with the utmost rigour. The Camp will always be extended as widely as the ground will admit for the sake of cleanliness and health, but as it must often happen that the extent will be insufficient for the Line to form in the front of the encampment according to the present established rule of open *Files*, and too deep, The Quarter Master General will therefore mark at every new Camp a portion of ground each Battalion is to clear, over and above its own front in order to make the work equal; to clear this ground must be the immediate business after arriving in Camp, and in this Country it may often be necessary to have an alarm post^{bq}

^{bp}. Bells of Arms, or Bell Tents, were a kind of tents in the shape of a cone, where the company's arms were lodged in the field. They were generally painted with the color of the facing of the regiment, and the king's arms in front. [G. N.]

^{bq}. Alarm post, in the field, was the ground appointed by the quarter-master general for each regiment to march to, in case of an alarm. [G. N.]

clear'd in the Rear as well as in the Front. By clearing is meant removing such obstructions as might prevent the ready forming of the Troops to receive, or advance upon the Enemy. It is not necessary to cut the large Trees for that purpose, except where they may afford shelter for the Enemy. *Quarter Guards*^{br} are always to face outwards and at the distance of a hundred yards from the Bells of Arms, and to have a *fléch*^{bs} of earth or Timber thrown up before them. When the encampment of the Line is with the front to the water, and too near to admit of this Regulation, the Quarter Guards are to be Posted in the Rear, and of the Flank Regiments occasionally on the Flanks. Tho' the ground will seldom admit of strict regularity in pitching Tents they are never to be placed so as to interfere with the Line of defence. All Deserters from the Enemy, suspected Spies, or other persons, presenting themselves at the out Posts, or otherwise stopp'd, are to be sent forthwith to head Quarters without questioning them. In all duties by Detachment the Corps will furnish according to their effective strength. When the

br. Advanced or quarter-guards are soldiers entrusted with the guard of a post, under the command of one or more officers. This word, quarter-guard, also signifies the place where the guard mounts. It was also sometimes used to designate a small guard commanded by a subaltern officer, posted in the front of

each battalion, at 222 feet before the front of the regiment. [G. N.]

bs. *Fleches*, in field fortification, is a work of two faces, usually raised in the field, to cover the quarter-guards of a camp or advanced post. [G. N.]

Lieut't General visits an outpost, the men are not to stand to their Arms or pay him any compliment. The Articles of War which regard the Men are to be read at the head of every Regiment tomorrow evening at the Parade, and afterwards these Regulations. The daily duties will be as follows, *One* Brigadier General for the day, who will visit the out posts and have a general inspection over the Camp, all reports are to be made thro' him, except when any alarm or exigency require instant notice to the Com'r in Chief.

A Major of Brigade for the day, who is to parade all Guards, Detachments &c.

The Picquet when the last Brigade arrives, will consist of *one* Field officer for each Wing,
Sub'n Serg't Corp't
one Captain from each Brigade, 1 1 1
and 25 Privates from each Regiment, *a* Drummer to be furnished by the Regiment that gives the Captain. The whole Picquet to assemble half an hour before Gun Firing at the Centre of the Line, and to be exercised in marching and charging Bayonets, under the inspection of the Brigadier of the Day, in order that the British and German Troops may acquire an uniformity of pace and motion when acting together in Line. Half the picquet is always to lye posted during the Night at some distance from the Camp and at such places as may be exposed to

the secret approach of the Enemy. It will be the care of the Brigadier of the day to post them.

Finis.

Thursday June ye 26th upon the arrival of the rest of the Army Gen'l Frazer's Corps moved towards Tyconderoga and landing at *Putnams Creek*, 7 miles higher up on the Western side were joined by the Savages &c who went up *Otter Creek* and made this Tour under Captain Frazer, nothing of consequence occurr'd during their expedition. I was this day order'd on Shore with Cap't Borthwick's ^{bt} Company and 4—6

^{bt}. William Borthwick was connected with the Royal Artillery for more than 50 years. He entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich as a gentleman cadet, Feb. 1, 1756, and was commissioned as a lieut.-fireworker in the Royal Artillery, April 1, 1756, a 2d lieut., April 2, 1757, a 1st lieut., Sept. 10, 1759, a capt.-lieutenant in the 4th Battalion, Dec. 7, 1763, and a captain in the 3d Battalion, Jan. 29, 1773, his being No. 8 Company, 3d Battalion, now "D" Battery, 4th Brigade. He served in Canada in 1776, and on Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, on which, however, he saw little service, as he with a portion of his company formed part of the garrison of Ticonderoga, while Burgoyne with the bulk of his army moved down the Hudson. In Nov., 1777, after Burgoyne's surrender, the garrison of Ticonderoga abandoned the fort and returned to Canada, where Capt. Borthwick served during the remainder of the American war. The only other notice of this officer, during that war, found by us, is in an order issued from headquarters at Montreal,

Aug. 24, 1778, wherein he, with 60 men of the Royal Artillery, was directed to march forthwith from Quebec and take up quarters at Sorel. Capt. Borthwick became a major in the artillery, Dec. 1, 1782, lieut.-colonel March 16, 1791, colonel Oct. 20, 1794, and colonel-commandant Nov. 12, 1800, his successor having been appointed Oct. 14, 1801. He was made a major-general Jan. 1, 1798, and a lieut.-general Jan. 1, 1805. He died at Greenwich, in Kent, England, June 27, 1808, aged 76 years.

This officer must not be confounded with another of the same name in the Royal Artillery, who entered at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, Oct. 22, 1772, became a 2d lieut. in the Royal Artillery March 26th, 1777, a 1st lieut., Nov. 12, 1779, a capt.-lieutenant March 24, 1791, a captain Oct. 20, 1794, a major in the army, Jan. 1, 1798, a major in the artillery, Sept. 12, 1803, a lieut.-colonel in the army Sept. 25, 1803, a lieut.-colonel in the artillery July 20, 1804, a colonel therein April 30, 1809, and a major-general Jan 1, 1812. This

Pounders to join the Right Wing of the Army at Crown Point. *Two* Medium 12 P'rs were landed and Posted on the Right Flank of the Army, as also *Two* in the Center of the Right Wing. *Capt. Pauch*^{bu} of the Hessian Artillery was sent with his own Company and *Four* 6 Pounders to join the Germans, now encamped on *Windmill Point*. Two Gun Boats were order'd round to South Bay to secure the Right of the Army and Capt. Mitchelson (R. Ar'y)^{bv} with *Ten* others proceeded after Gen'l Frazer, the Vessels destined for his protection being detained at Crown Point by contrary winds.

latter officer commanded the artillery at Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812, where he was wounded, and for his services received a medal. [B. H : G. U : C. Z : D. A : F. E. 108.]

^{bu.} Capt. Pausch, who commanded the Hanau artillery with Burgoyne, was at the battle of Bennington where he lost two guns. He was included in the Saratoga Convention and signed the Cambridge parole.

^{bv.} Walter Mitchelson entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, Sept. 2, 1756. He became a lieut.-fireworker in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Artillery, June 8, 1757; a 2d lieut., Aug. 15, 1760; a 1st lieut. in the 2d Battalion, May 23, 1764; and a captain-lieutenant, Jan. 1, 1771, that being the highest rank to which he attained. He was quarter-master of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, March 8, 1776, and so continued until his death. He doubtless went to Canada with the artillery detachment in

the spring of 1776; at all events he was in Canada at that time, and the next year took part in Burgoyne's expedition. Kane in his Artillery List, says he died in North America, Sept. 7, 1777. Lieut. Hadden, writing in his Journal under date of Sept. 17, 1777, giving the artillery arrangements for the march on the west side of the Hudson, states that Capt. Mitchelson commanded the right brigade of the Park of Artillery under Capt. Carter, and gives the composition of his brigade. This, however, by no means proves that he was then with his brigade, as the order was doubtless determined on before, and this was the *proposed* disposition. Though he had been sick, yet if expected to join his command shortly, the order would not necessarily have been changed, and had he been left behind on the march sick, he might have died several days before the news would have reached an advancing column. His name appears for the last time in the Army Lists in 1777. [B. H : G. U : E. Z.]

June 28th Gen'l Orders. *Signals.*

Two Guns, the whole to form in front of the encampment leaving their Tents standing: *Four* Guns, the Mens Tents, Provisions, and Ammunition to be put in the Batteaux's, the Officers' to be left in charge of a Guard and brought up afterwards, the number of Batteaux's allotted in this case, is, to each Battalion British 17: to each German Battalion 22 the rest are to bring up the Officers' Tents and Baggage. These are standing orders during the Campaign.

N. B. Each Batteaux was calculated originally to carry from 25 to 30 Men.

The following list of Intrenching Tools were attached to Capt. Borthwick's & Pauche's Brigades, [viz.]

	No	Each Weighing	Total Weight, lbs.
Spades	80	6 lbs.	480
Shovels	20	8	160
Felling Axe's	50	8	400
Pick-Axe's	60	7	420
Hoes	20	7	140
Hand Bills	25	2	50
Hand Hatch'ts	25	2	50
Hand Barrows	5	18	90
Wheel Barrows	14	40	560
Sand Baggs	180	¹⁵ 18	150

Gen'l Orders. Any Tools that the Regiments may want for clearing their Camps &c will be

deliver'd them on proper application and receipt, and so soon as done with are to be returned to the Artillery.

June 30th B. G'l Frazer's Brigade moved forward, and disembarked on a point of Land on the Western Shore Three Miles from Tyconderoga from which circumstance 'tis called *Three Mile Point*. The Army Received Provisions to the 8th July inclusive.

G. O. The Army embarks tomorrow, to approach the Enemy. We are to contend for the King, and the constitution of Great Britain, to vindicate Law, and to relieve the oppressed—a cause in which his Majesty's Troops and those of the Princes his Allies, will feel equal excitement. The Services required of this particular expedition, are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which, nor difficulty, nor labour nor Life, are to be regarded. This Army must not Retreat. The General *bis* to beat tomorrow in place of the Revalley at the dawn

bis. Major James, in his Military Dictionary, in speaking of the drum calls during the period of our Revolutionary war, says:

"The various beats are as follows, viz.:

The general, is to give notice to the troops that they are to march.

The assembly, to order the troops to
The troop, repair to the place of rendezvous, or to their colors.

The march, to command them to move, always with the left foot first.

Tat-too or *tap-too*, to order all to retire to their quarters.

The reveille, always beats at break of day, and is to warn the soldiers to rise, and the sentinels to forbear challenging, and to give leave to come out of quarters.

To arms, for soldiers who are dispersed, to repair to them.

The retreat, a signal to draw off from the enemy. It likewise means a beat in both camp and garrison a little before sun-set, at which time the gates are shut, and the soldiers repair to their barracks.

The alarm, is to give notice of sudden

of Day, the Assembly to beat an hour afterwards at which time the whole will embark. A Field Officer with 100 British, and 100 Germans to remain at Chimney Point to take charge of the provisions & Stores at that place. The Wings are to take up their new encampment in Two Lines. So soon as the Regiments are encamp'd a working party of 20 Men and a Subaltern from each will parade in front of their respective Regiments.

Tuesday. July 1st This day the Army embarked, the weather being fine and the River, in general about a Mile wide between Crown Point and Tyconderoga, was in a manner cover'd with Boats or Batteaux's; some of the Armed Vessels accompanied us, the Music and Drums of the different Regiments were continually playing and contributed to make the Scene and passage extremely pleasant. The British Troops disembarked on the Eastern or Tyconderoga ^{bx} side about Four Miles Short of it; and the Germans on the Western or Mount Independence side, Except Col. Brymen's Corps attached to Gen'l Frazer as a reserve, and Reidesil's Dragoons to cover Head Quarters remained with the British Troops.

danger, that all may be in readiness for immediate duty.

The parley, } is a signal to demand
 some conference with
 The chamade, } the enemy."

bx. This is an error. Tyconderoga is on the west side, and Lieut. Hadden's map so delineates it, and Mount Independence is on the east side of Lake Champlain.

... instructions to Crown Point.

Till Portion taken by Gen. Phillips
in Mount Hope. W. The Advanced,
being too much exposed in it, were thus
lost - $X\frac{1}{4}$ (communication to them
through J. Peth, in Little, directing
to Liberton. T. Portage to Lake
George. A. a Creek running 25 or 30
miles at the Country to Liberton. C.
Roads of communication or the old
Roads to the above Lib. & Geo. & Geo.

The Figure No. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 8

Position of the Army. Gen'l Frazier continued in his post at Three Mile Point. The British and Germans encamped on the opposite shores about 1½ or 2 Miles below. The Troops were employed in clearing the Front of their encampments and cutting Roads of communication between the different Brigades.

July 2d Maj'r Gen'l Phillips, taking command of Brig'r Gen'l Frazers Corps, and one British Brigade advanced to a *Hill* called *Mount Hope* about 1400 y'ds from the Enemies Works, and gained possession of it without opposition. Owing to a mistake I was all last Night employed in Landing the Guns & Stores. One of the men stumbled over the small stumps in the new clear'd Road & broke three of his *Ribs*: I remark this to shew the necessity of cutting the small Bushes very close to the ground where men are to pass and repass in the Night time.

July 2nd The Savages getting drunk advanced too near the Enemies Lines, in the Evening. This folly terminated in an Officer being sent to bring them off, in doing which he was wounded: *by* One Savage Killed & another Wounded.

July 3rd The L't Artillery of the Brigades advanced and join'd them at Mount Hope, In

by. The officer wounded July 2d, referred to in the text, was Lieut. Haughton, 53d regiment. [G. X. 174.]

doing which the Enemy fired on us from their Batteries, (thro. openings in the Woods on the Road) and one Man was Killed: They also fired upon our new encampment which was on that account retired a little.

July 4th The Artificers were employed in repairing the Bridge at the Saw Mills burnt by the Enemy, and making a Road to the top of a high Mountain called *Sugar Loaf Hill*. This height commands both *Mount Independence*, and *Tyconderoga*—The former at the distance of 1600 Yards, and the latter at 1400.

July 5th Two Medium 12 Pounders were landed and taken up *Sugar Loaf Hill*, and a working party of 400 Men, order'd from the Right Wing in order to erect a Battery the next evening. About the middle of this day, two of our Gun Boats were order'd to proceed towards the Enemies Works 'till fired upon, in order to form a judgement of the number of Guns bearing on the Water. It was found impracticable to force their Boom with our Shipping. B. Gen'l Hamilton's Brigade moved to Three Mile Point, and it was determined for the Germans to move across the *Creek* in their Front and cut off a retreat towards Huberton, as also to prevent any supplies being thrown in from that Quarter. During this night the Rebels about 3 or 4 Thousand in number abandon'd their Works at

Tyconderoga and Mount Independence leaving behind them all the Guns, Stores, and Provisions, except 300 Barrels of Powder on board one of their Vessels ; a large Detachment of them proceeded towards *Huberton* and the rest embarking on board their Vessels, and Batteaux's proceeded towards Skeensborough.

July 6th At daybreak this Morning the retreat of the Enemy was discover'd, and B. Gen'l Frazer, with about 8 or 900 of his own Corps (leaving the rest with the Tents Batteaux's &c &c) pursued them towards Huberton, leaving his Artillery which the Road was not capable of receiving.

About 8 o'clock in the morning the Fleet being in readiness, and the Troops embarked, proceeded (thro. a passage between the Piles in the Enemies *Boom*) towards Skeensborough.

About 2 o'clock, B. G'l Frazer came up with the party he pursued, who having been joined by some reinforcements intended for the Garrison, considerably out number'd him, and the affair was at least doubtful the Enemy having nearly turned his Flank, when a Detachment under Maj'r Gen'l Reidesil (The Chasseurs & Jagers) sent as a support very fortunately came up, and checking this attempt of the Enemy they immediately gave way on all sides, *Col. Francis*^{bz}

^{bz}. Ebenezer Francis came from an old Massachusetts family. He was the eldest son and the fifth of the nine child-

ren of Ebenezer Francis, by his wife, Rachel Whitmore, the widow of Ebenezer Tufts ; and was born in Medford,

who commanded with 200 others were killed, about as many wounded and taken Prisoners. This Detachment being fatigued and having their wounded to take care of, who were dispersed in the Woods, took post here, and no farther pursuit was attempted by that Route. The

Dec. 22, 1743. He lived in Medford during his minority and was very diligent in the pursuit of knowledge. He moved to Beverly, and, in 1766 married Judith Wood, by whom he had one son and four daughters. He was commissioned as captain July 1, 1775; became colonel of a regiment raised for the defence of Boston July 28, 1776; and was stationed on Dorchester Heights until December of that year.¹ The Continental Congress on Sept. 16, 1776, authorized the raising of 88 battalions to serve during the war, 15 of which were assigned to Massachusetts, and Col. Francis was appointed to one of them.² Each state appointed the officers for its own quota, and Col. Francis's letter to James Bowdoin, in acknowledgment of his appointment, will give us a little glimpse of the man.

"DORCHESTER,

"November ye 28th, 1776

"HONOURABLE SIR: Permit me to request of you the favour of returning the honourable Board my most hearty thanks for the honour done me in appointing me Colonel of one of the new regiments now raising for the defence of these States. It will ever be my greatest solicitude to honor the station in which they are pleased to place me, and hope I may be so happy as to do real service to my country.

"I have the honour to be, with great esteem, your most humble servant

"EBEN^r FRANCIS.

"To the Honourable the President of the Council Board &c"

The 11th Massachusetts, under Col. Francis, proceeded to Ticonderoga, in Jan., 1777, and when that fort was evacuated the following July upon the approach of the British under Burgoyne, Col. Francis, with his regiment, formed a part of the rear guard under Col. Seth Warner, and was killed at the battle of Hubbardton, July 7, 1777. His chaplain says "No officer so noticed for his military accomplishments and regular life as he was. His conduct in the field is spoken of in the highest terms of praise."³ The British Ensign Amburey, who participated in the action, gives us some interesting items in regard to Col. Francis. "After the action was over," says, Amburey, "and all firing had ceased for near two hours, upon the summit of the mountain I have already described, which had no ground any where that could command it, a number of officers were collected to read the papers taken out of the pocket book of Colonel Francis, when Captain Shrimpton, of the 62d regiment, who had the papers in his hand, jumped up and fell, exclaiming, 'he was severely wounded'; we all heard the ball whiz by us, and turning to the place from whence the report came, saw the smoke: as there was every reason to imagine the piece was fired from some tree, a party of men were instantly detached, but could find no person, the fellow, no doubt, as soon as he had fired, had slipped down and made his escape."⁴

The same officer, when a prisoner in New England, under date of May 10, 1778, relates this interesting incident.—

Troops British and German behaved well on this occasion, unfortunately we gained nothing but honor, and the immediate movements of the Army were incumber'd or rather prevented, it being absolutely necessary to detain this Detach-

"A few days since, walking out with some officers, we stopped at a house to purchase vegetables, whilst the other officers were bargaining with the woman of the house, I observed an elderly woman sitting by the fire, who was continually eyeing us, and every now and then shedding a tear. Just as we were quitting the house she got up, and bursting into tears, said, 'Gentlemen, will you let a poor distracted woman speak a word to you before you go?' We, as you must naturally imagine, were all astonished, and upon enquiring what she wanted, with the most poignant grief and sobbing as if her heart was on the point of breaking, asked if any of us knew her son, who was killed at the battle of Huberton, a Colonel Francis. Several of us informed her, that we had seen him after he was dead. She then enquired about his pocket-book, and if any of his papers were safe, as some related to his estates, and if any of the soldiers had got his watch; if she could but obtain that in remembrance of her dear, dear, son, she should be happy. Captain Ferguson, of our regiment, who was of the party, told her, as to the Colonel's papers and pocket-book, he was fearful they were either lost or destroyed; but pulling a watch from his fob, said, 'There good woman, if that can make you happy, take it, and God bless you.' We were all much surprized, as unacquainted, as he had made a purchase of it from a drum-boy. On seeing it, it is impossible to describe the joy and grief that was depicted in her countenance; I never in all my life, beheld such a strength of passion; she kissed it, looked unuttera-

ble gratitude at Captain Ferguson, then kissed it again; her feelings were inexpressible, she knew not how to express or shew them; she would repay his kindness by kindness, but could only sob her thanks; our feelings were lifted up to an inexpressible height; we promised to search after the papers, and I believe, at that moment, could have hazarded life itself to procure them."³ This watch is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whom it was presented by two of Col. Francis's grand-daughters.

But one opinion was entertained of Col. Francis by friend or foe, and that is well expressed by one who fought against him in the battle that ended his life. Anburey fitly sums up Col. Francis's character, when he says, — "that brave officer, Col. Francis, whose death, though an enemy, will ever be regretted by those who can feel for the loss of a gallant and brave man."⁶ Three of Col. Francis's brothers were officers during the Revolutionary war and served with much credit.⁴ The Colonel's only son, Ebenezer Francis, died in Boston, Sept. 21. 1858, in the 83d year of his age. He left a fortune estimated at between three and four millions of dollars, which he had made himself; and he filled some of the most honorable positions in the commonwealth. His descendants still survive, and are among the most respectable and influential people in Massachusetts.⁷ [B. I. 194-196. 513. "I L. 187. "K. 900. "O. 331. 5P. 208-10. "O. 336. "I. J. 88: F. U. U. 347.]

ment as a cover for the Wounded, till they cou'd be removed to Tyconderoga & this from many difficulties was not effected for some days, in which time the Enemy recover'd from their panic; this wou'd not have been the case had they been pursued towards *Fort Edward* by the way of Skeensborough, the Route of the Army pointing that way, whatever ground we drove them from, was gained, and in place of retiring such Detachments the Army wou'd necessarily have moved forward to them. Our loss in ye above Affair was 17 Officers^{ca} and 109 Rank & File Killed or Wounded. As a proof of what may be done against Beaten Battalions while their fears are strong upon them, an Officer and 15 Men detached for the purpose of bringing in Cattle fell in with 70 Rebels, affecting to have the rest of his party concealed and assuring them they were surrounded, they surrender'd their *Arms* and were brought in Prisoners.^{cb}

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon Some of our Gun Boats came up with the Enemies Vessels

ca. The casualty list of British officers at Hubbardton was as follows :

KILLED.	
Major Grant,	24th Reg't.
Lieut. Douglas,	29th "
" Haggart,	Marines.
WOUNDED.	
<i>Light Infantry.</i>	
Major Lord Balcarras,	53d Reg't.
Capt. Harris,	34th "
" Craig,	47th "
Lieut. Cullen,	53d "
" Jones,	62d "

Grenadiers.

Capt. Stapleton, died of his wounds,	9th "
Major Acland,	20th "
Capt. Ross,	34th "
" Shrimpton,	62d "
Lieut. Rowe,	9th "
" Steele,	29th "
" Richardson,	34th "
Volunteer Lindsay,	
Only 16 names are given in the list.	
[G. X. 174.]	
<i>cb.</i> See Appendix 15.	

near *Skeensborough* 36 Miles from Tyconderoga, a smart Action ensued for half an hour when the rest of our Fleet appearing in sight, the Enemy abandon'd their Vessels, Five in Number, and one *Skow* with an Iron Howitzer, thus ended their irresistable Naval Armament Built last year. Our loss was One Artillery Officer Killed, and a Volunteer Wounded.^{cc} The Fleet came up to Skeensborough notwithstanding the communication is so narrow in some places that the Ships Yards almost touched the Precipices which over hung them ; The Enemy might have done great execution by leaving a Detachment on the shore to harrass them, and, this Party cou'd have retired and concealed themselves from any force landed against them.

July 7th Lt. Col. Hill^{cd} was detached with the 9th Reg't to *Fort Anne*, 14 Miles, on the Road to *Fort Edward* and the same distance from it.

^{cc.} The British officers killed at Skenesborough, were Second Lieut. Clelland, Royal Artillery, and Volunteer Sutton. [G. X. 174.]

^{cd.} Three John Hills appear in the British Army Lists at the same time. The first entered the army as an ensign in the 1st Foot, or the Royals, March 24, 1746 ; became a lieutenant April 9, 1756 ; a captain Sept. 3, 1766 ; and major July 1, 1774 ; his name appearing for the last time in the Army List of 1776. Another John Hill appears as a lieu-

tenant in the 19th Foot Sept. 4, 1756, and drops out of the Army Lists in 1758.

The John Hill referred to in the text was first commissioned, so far as we can ascertain, as a lieutenant in the 24th Foot March 15, 1747-8. He became the adjutant of his regiment Aug. 25, 1756, and capt.-lieutenant of it March 9, 1757. He was promoted to a captaincy in the 13th Foot Dec. 1, 1758, and to the majority Oct. 10, 1765. His regiment was stationed at Gibraltar from 1759 to 1763, and at Minorca from 1770

July 8th The Gun Boats returned to Tyconderoga, and thence proceeded up the Creek towards Lake George as far as the Bridge at the Saw Mills. The Brigade of Artillery attached to the *Advanced Corps*, only, remained with the Army to wait its return, it being determined for the rest to proceed across Lake George.

Wednesday July 9th We began disembarking Guns & Stores from the Gun Boats at the Bridge in *Saw Mill Creek*.

July 10th Capt Borthwick's Company moved to the other end of the Portage at the entrance

to 1775, inclusive. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army Sept. 11, 1775, and the lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Foot Nov. 10, of the same year.¹ This regiment formed part of the reinforcements to Sir Guy Carleton, and arrived in Canada in the spring of 1776. The following year it shared in Burgoyne's disastrous campaign. When the Americans evacuated Ticonderoga, Burgoyne, with the gunboats, pursued by water to Skenesborough; Gen. Fraser with the light troops followed by Gen. Riedesel, pursued by way of Hubbardton; and Col. Hill, with the 9th, was dispatched in the direction of Fort Anne in pursuit of Col. Long, who, with his regiment and the invalids, had retreated in that direction. The Americans ascertaining the weakness of Col. Hill's force boldly attacked him, and he was hard pressed and beaten back; though the British phrase it, in Burgoyne's language, as follows:—"Lieut.-Col. Hill found it necessary to change his position in the heat of action."² The American Gen. Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, says, Lieut.-Col. Hill "was obliged to retreat, and Col. Long, for want of ammunition, could not pursue

him."³ Sergeant Lamb of the 9th, who took part in the affair, says that Capt. Money's sounding the Indian war whoop threw the Americans into consternation just as the British ammunition was failing; and he would have us infer that the Americans withdrew, and not the British, as he says, "after the Americans had retreated we formed on the hill."⁴ Lieut.-Col. Hill served through Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in the Saratoga Convention, his name being signed to the Cambridge Parole. He saved the colors of the 9th Regiment by secreting them in his private baggage; as private baggage was, by the terms of the convention, secured to its owners, the colors were not discovered by the Americans, and on his return to England Lieut.-Col. Hill presented them to the king, who rewarded services of such questionable merit by appointing Hill as one of his aids.⁵ Hill's last promotion seems to have been as colonel in the army May 16, 1782; and his name appears for the last time in the Army Lists in 1783.¹ [*B. H.* 'B. N. App. 19. ³M. T. 190. ⁴G. V. 141, *et pass.* ⁵G. C. 32.]

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of Lake George, carrying with us all the Artillery then landed.

Gen'l Orders Skeensborough House July 11th.

On the 6th July The Rebels were dislodged from Tyconderoga by the mere continuance and activity of the Army, and on the same day driven beyond Skeensborough on the Right—to Huberton on the left with the loss of all their Artillery; five of their Armed Vessels taken or blown up, by the spirrit'd conduct of Capt Carter^{ee} of the

^{ee}. John Carter entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, Feb. 18, 1752. He became a lieut.-fireworker in the Royal Artillery, March 1, 1755; a 2d lieut., April 1, 1756; a 1st lieut., April 2, 1757; a capt.-lieut., Jan. 1, 1759; and a captain, Dec. 7, 1763; and for five years after getting a company, his was No. 7 Company, 1st Battalion, now "4" Battery, 5th Brigade.³ After the peace of 1763 he was, for a time, stationed at the regimental headquarters at Woolwich.⁴ He was in Canada in the spring of 1776, when he helped to drive the Americans out of that province. Next to Major Williams he was the oldest artillery captain on Burgoyne's expedition.⁵ He had command of the gun boats on the pursuit of the Americans to Skeneborough after the evacuation of Tyconderoga, and he succeeded in destroying five of their armed vessels, with all their baggage and a large amount of ammunition.⁶ August 4, 1777, Gen. Phillips appointed him commissary of horses to the Royal Artillery; and, when the army approached the American force on the west bank of the Hudson, he commanded the park of artillery.⁶ He was included in Burgoyne's capitulation, and

his name is attached to the Cambridge Parole. Capt. Carter became a major in the army, Aug. 29, 1777; and when a part of the Convcnction troops were moved from Cambridge to Rutland he was the senior officer of the Rutland troops.⁷ Amburey, in his travels, refers to the 'humanity of Major Carter' while at Rutland in interesting himself very warmly in behalf of three British officers who had resented an American 'insult' with blows, and thereby got themselves confined in the guard house. Major Carter "frequently remonstrated with the Commanding Officer of the guard, at the cruelty and injustice of their conduct towards them, but not being able to obtain redress, demanded a pass to send an officer to Cambridge, in order to represent the affair, through General Phillips, to the Commanding Officer at Boston. Major Carter then informed these Gentlemen, that as he thought it necessary for the good of the troops in general, to make their treatment a public concern, it was his orders they should wait the result of General Phillips's interference with the American General, and not act for themselves in the business on any account." After three days Major Carter received a reply from Gen. Phillips, "which re-

Artillery with a part of his Brigade of Gun Boats, a very great quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, and Stores of all sorts and the greatest part of their Baggage fell into our hands. On the 7th B. Gen'l Frazer at the head of a little more than half the advanced Corps without Artillery (which with the utmost endeavours it was impossible to get up) came up with near two Thousand of the Enemy strongly posted attacked & defeated them with the loss on the Enemies part of many of their principal Officers Two hundred Men Killed on the spot a much larger number wounded and about 200 made Prisoners. Major Gen'l Reidesil with his advanced Guard consisting of the Chasseur Company and Eighty Grenadiers arrived in time to sustain B. G'l Frazer and by his judicious orders and spirited execution of them obtained a share for himself and his Troops in the glory of the Action. On the 8th Lt. Col. Hill at the head of the 9th Regiment was attacked at Fort Anne

probated in the strongest terms, the imprudence of these gentlemen, in paying attention to the insolence or abuse of the people of the country, the General observing 'that they should listen to the abuse of the Americans, as to the mere *cackling of geese*;' and concluded with saying, 'He should not concern himself with a *boxing match*.'" Consequently the incarcerated officers had to employ a lawyer on 'exorbitant terms' "to relieve themselves from the horrors of a dungeon, on quitting which, it was their observation, that they had little more reason to extol the humanity of their own

General, than they had the justice of the Americans."⁷ Major Carter died in America, March 17, 1779¹, and though his name disappears from the Royal Artillery after the Army List of 1779, it is carried on the list of majors in the army till 1782. Burgoyne's Orderly Book is in error in saying "he reached the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army in 1783, when his name is dropped," as his highest regimental rank was that of captain, and his highest army rank that of major.² [¹G. U. ²B. H. ³C. Z. 176. ⁴C. Z. 244. ⁵L. E. 324: B. N. 97. ⁶E. Z. ⁷P. 238, *et passim*.]

by more than six times his number & repulsed the Enemy with great loss after a continued fire of Three Hours. In consequence of this action Fort *Anne* was burnt and abandon'd and a part of this Army is in possession of the Country on the other side. These rapid successes after exciting a proper sense of what we owe to God, entitles the Troops in general to the warmest praise and in a particular manner distinction is due to B. Gen'l Frazer who by his conduct & Bravery supported by the same qualities in the Officers and Soldiers under his command, effected an exploit of material service to the King and signal honor to the profession of Arms: This Corps have the further merit of having supported fatigue & bad weather without bread and without murmur. Divine Service to be performed on Sunday morning next, and a *Feu de joye* in the Evening, at the head of the Line, the advanced Corps, Tyconderoga, Crown Point, the Camp at Castleton and the post of *Brymens* Corps. These orders will be read to every Battalion.

July 12th, Brig. Gen'l Frazer and the Corps detached at Castleton &c joined the Army at Skeensborough. One German and one British Regiment were left in Garrison at Mount Inde-

cf. Hadden has greatly magnified the number of the Americans at Fort Ann. Had not their ammunition given out, the British 9th regiment would have had a sorry time of it. As it was, besides

the rank and file on its casualty list, it had one officer killed, and four wounded; one of the latter, Capt. Montgomery, being likewise taken prisoner.

pendence and Tyconderoga : Governor Skeene ^{eg} was appointed to act as Commissioner and to administer the Oaths of Allegiance, and grant certificates to such inhabitants as sue properly for the same, and regulate all other matters relative to the supplies and assistances required from the Country or voluntarily brought in. It was determined by Gen'l Burgoyne that all the provisions, and Stores, Artillery &c (except one Lt. Brigade) should be passed over *Lake George* to the Right, under the escort of one Reg't and the Corps of Royal Artillery ; as the Enemy had Vessels on this Lake a sufficient number of the Gun Boats were kept armed and clear for Action, the rest were loaded with Stores and Provisions. The Army was to pass by *Fort Anne* carrying with them, thro. *Wood Creek* as many Batteaux's as wou'd be necessary to Transport their Provisions down the Hudsons River. After the Action at or near *Fort Anne*, the 9th Regiment were withdrawn and joining the Army at Skeensborough, no other Detachment was sent out, and the Enemy tho. not victorious were the real gainers by this affair, the advantage they made of it, was to Fell large *Tree's* across *Wood Creek*, and the *Road* leading by the side of it to *Fort Anne*. The clearing of which cost the Army much labour and time, and gave the enemy spir-rits & leisure to wait those reinforcements which

^{eg.} See Appendix 16.

enabled them to retire deliberately, always keeping near enough to prevent our sending out small Detachments: a large Corps advanced to *Fort Anne* (in place of the 9th Reg't) wou'd have encreased the Enemies *Fears* and prevented these delays. The proper Corps for this purpose had taken another Route, (G'l Frazer's) and whatever footing the General might wish to put the Action near Huberton upon, that Corps certainly discover'd that neither they were invincible, nor the Rebels all Poltroons; On the contrary many of them acknowledged the Enemy behaved well, and look'd upon General Reidesel's fortunate arrival as a matter absolutely necessary; This *eclaircissement* should have taken place when something more than honor was to be gained; We were now at Skeensborough, having lost near 200 Men, and this post was gained with the loss of One officer & One Volunteer, all our other posts being relinquished, & the communications in front to be repaired before we cou'd proceed.

July 13th G. Orders. A working party to parade tomorrow morning at daybreak to make Roads & communications towards *Fort Anne* and also to draw Batteauxs over the carrying place into the Creek, whatever number of Men may be required for these purposes Brig'r Gen'l Frazer's Corps and the Line will furnish.

Monday July 14th *On the Right.* The rest of the Artillery being Landed proceeded from the *Saw Mills* to the other end of the Portage at Lake George,

July 15th Carriages resembling a Waggon without the Body, (of two sizes, the larger for Transporting Gun Boats, and the lesser for Bat-teaux's) being put together and some Horses arrived from Canada several Gun Boats and Bat-teaux's were brought over the *Portage* and launched in the Lake George: This business was much retarded for want of Horses which agreeable to a Contract were to be sent across Lake Champlain in Floats.

July 21st. Nothing extraordinary happen'd 'till this period, The Troops being employed in repair'g the Communications &c &c &c.

July 22nd the Roads being complet'd and the *Creek* cleared Gen'l Burgoyne gave out the following order. The Guards of the Advanced Corps to be relieved by the same numbers of the Line this Evening at Sun-sett.

July 23rd The advanced Corps moved to Fort Anne, 14 Miles. G. Orders. When the Army moves a Detachment of 50 British, 50 Germans and 50 will remain posted at Skeensborough for some days. Lt Hetherington^{ch} (of a Provin-

^{ch}. Provost Marshal Hetherington, Saratoga Convention, and was exchanged or Etherington, was included in the Sept. 3, 1781. [K. J. 64.]

cial Corps) is appointed Provost Martial to the Army and will at all times have a guard of 10 British and 10 Germans.

July 24th: G. Orders. Skeensborough. The Provisions &c of the Army (Tents excepted) to be loaded this afternoon. The General to beat tomorrow instead of the Revalley, The Tents are then to be put on board and the Batteauxs proceed immediately under a proper escort. The assembly to beat an hour afterwards and the Troops will then march. Reidesil's Dragoons makes the advanced Guard and the rear Guard to be composed of *one* Captain and Company from the Rear Regiment; The *Provincials* are in the Rear of the British; The Carts are to fall in between the main body and the rear Guard, and the Provost Guard a Quarter of a Mile in the Rear of the whole.

This movement of the Army was deferr'd 'till the day following, when it moved to *Fort Anne* 14 Miles, and B. Gen'l Frazers Corps proceeded to *Jones's Farm* (about 7 Miles farther) in the *Pitch Pine Plains*.

G. Orders, at *Fort Anne* July 27th

The 21st Regiment will immediately join the advanced Corps leaving a Subaltern and Twenty Men as an escort for Gen'l Burgoyne; Two Pieces of Cannon are to go with the Regim't. (The Germans remained here.) The *Right*

Wing to hold themselves in readiness to march in the same order as from Skeensborough on the shortest notice.

The 28th B. Gen'l Frazer's Corps moved to the cross Roads about 2 Miles short of Fort Edward.

July 29th He was joined by all the British except the 21st Reg't and *two* Pieces of Cannon under Capt Jones. (R. Ar'y). This Detachment were left at *Jones's Farm* to secure the communication with the Post at Skeensborough. In the afternoon the R't Wing moved forward to *Fort Edward* 14 Miles from *Fort Anne*.

July 29th Gen'l Orders: The Advanced Corps will encamp on the height beyond *Fort Edward*, The Indians, Canadians and such of the Provincials as are armed, in their front and on their flanks; The head Quarters will be at the Red House near the *Fort* cover'd by Reid-esils Dragoons who will encamp on the plain; The Right Wing will encamp on the rising ground on this side the plain. The left Wing (Germans) will remain at Fort Anne till further orders to aid in the Transport of Provisions &c. Nothing material happen'd on this march; the Country is in general barren, a Sandy Soil & cover'd with tall Pine Trees.

Memorandum. Four Companies of the 21st Reg't being detached about 300 yards across a Bridge, with the *Two Guns* Cap't Jones, R. A., took command of the whole; in consequence of which Major Foster^{ci} Commanding the Reg't left the other Six Companies to join these *four* and supersede Capt Jones—"Sic transit gloria Mundi."

ci. George Forster began his military career Oct. 2, 1755, as an ensign in the 8th, or King's Regiment of Foot, in which he was promoted to be a lieutenant, Sept. 26, 1757. He served in Germany during the Seven Years War, and was further promoted to a captaincy in his regiment, Dec. 25, 1770.¹ At the breaking out of the American revolution the 8th was stationed on the frontier of Canada, and early in 1776 Capt. Forster was posted at Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg. He commanded the mixed force of British, Canadians and Indians, that captured the American post at the Cedars in May, 1776, as well as the force under Major Sherburne a few days after, and his treatment of the prisoners thus taken, excited much feeling and controversy at the time. The British and Canadian accounts acquit Capt. Forster of all blame, and accord him great praise for his conduct;² and Sir Guy Carleton thus wrote to him from Montreal, under date of June 20, 1776, "Your last expedition has acquired you great honour, the next I hope will prove no less fortunate."³

The American version, however, is very different, as shown by the action of Congress July 10, 1776, to be found at length in the Journals of Congress, vol. 2, pp. 256-260. [See also Am. Arch., 5th Ser., vol. 1, pp. 158-170.] The report of the committee of Congress upon the matter states, among other things, "That

immediately on the surrender, the garrison was put into the custody of the savages, who plundered them of their baggage, and even stripped them of their cloaths. . . . That two of them" (*i. e.* of Major Sherburne's force) "were put to death that evening" (May 20th), "four or five others at different times afterwards, one of whom was of those who surrendered on capitulation at the Cedars, and was killed on the 8th day after that surrender; that one was first shot, and while retaining life and sensation, was roasted, as was related by his companion now in possession of the savages, who himself saw the fact; and that several others being worn down by famine and cruelty, were left exposed in an island naked and perishing with cold and hunger: . . . That on Sunday, the 26th" (May, 1776), "the prisoners were carried to Quinze Chenes, when it was discovered that general Arnold was approaching, and making dispositions to attack them: That Captain Forster having desired Major Sherburne to attend a flag, which he was about to send to general Arnold for confirmation of the cartel, carried him into the council of Indians, then sitting, who told him, that it was a mercy never before shewn in their wars, that they had put to death so few of the prisoners; but that he must expect and so inform general Arnold, that they should certainly kill every man,

I shall now give an account of the operations of the Detachment to the Right of the Army coming across Lake George, as, the two blended together wou'd have created confusion From July ye 14th to the 25 We were employed in bringing forward the Guns, Stores, and Provisions; and in transporting Gun Boats & Bateaux's from ye *Saw Mill's Creek* to *Lake*

who should thereafter fall into their hands: That captain Forster joined in desiring that this bloody message should be delivered to general Arnold, and moreover that he should be notified, that if he rejected the cartel, and attacked him, every man of the prisoners would be put to instant death &c. . . . That, during the time of their captivity, not half food was allowed the prisoners; they were continually insulted, buffeted and ill treated by the savages; and when the first parties of them were carried off from the shore to be delivered to general Arnold, balls of mud were fired at them, and at the last parties musket balls.

"The Congress taking into consideration the foregoing report, came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That all acts contrary to good faith, the laws of nature, or the customs of civilized nations, done by the officers or soldiers of his Britannic majesty, or by foreigners or savages taken into his service, are to be considered as done by his orders, unless indemnification be made in cases which admit indemnification, and in all other cases, unless immediate and effective measures be taken by him, or by his officers, for bringing to condign punishment the authors, abettors and perpetrators of the act:

"That the plundering the baggage of the garrison at the Cedars, stripping them of their cloaths, and delivering them into

the hands of the savages, was a breach of the capitulation on the part of the enemy, for which indemnification ought to be demanded:

"That the murder of the prisoners of war was a gross and inhuman violation of the laws of nature and nations; that condign punishment should be inflicted on the authors, abettors and perpetrators of the same; and that, for this purpose, it be required that they be delivered into our hands:

"That the agreement entered into by general Arnold, was a mere sponson on his part; he not being invested with powers for the disposal of prisoners not in his possession, nor under his direction, and that, therefore, it is subject to be ratified or annulled, at the discretion of this house:

"That the shameful surrender of the post at the Cedars, is chargeable on the commanding officer; that such other of the prisoners, as were taken there, shewed a willingness and desire to fight the enemy; and that major Sherburne and the prisoners taken with him, though their disparity of numbers was great, fought the enemy bravely for a considerable time, and surrendered at last, but on absolute necessity; on which consideration, and on which alone it is resolved, that the said sponson be ratified; and that an equal number of captives from the enemy, of the same rank and con-

George. The Road is tolerably level, and where it wanted repairs the Rebel Prisoners were employed being furnished with Tools and working under a Guard : We had about Two hundred of them confined in a Barn, and those who were not wanted either for the above purpose or Removing Guns and Stores, amused themselves in beating Hemp : These measures certainly were not justifiable, they were it is true allowed Rum in common with other fatigue Parties and upon the whole 'twas better than close confinement, but it ought to have been optional ; they shou'd

dition, be restored to them, as stipulated by the said sponson :

"That, previous to the delivery of the prisoners to be returned on our part, the British commander in Canada be required to deliver into our hands the authors, abettors, and perpetrators of the horrid murder committed on the prisoners, to suffer such punishment as their crime deserves ; and also to make indemnification for the plunder at the Cedars, taken contrary to the faith of the capitulation ; and that until such delivery and indemnification be made, the said prisoners be not delivered :

"That, if the enemy shall commit any further violences, by putting to death, torturing, or otherwise ill treating the prisoners retained by them, or any of the hostages put into their hands, recourse be had to retaliation, as the sole means of stopping the progress of human butchery ; and that for that purpose, punishments of the same kind and degree be inflicted on an equal number of the captives from them in our possession, 'till they shall be taught to respect the violated rights of nations :

"That a copy of the above report and

resolutions be transmitted to the commander in chief of the continental forces, to be by him sent to generals Howe and Burgoyne."

The receipt of this report and these resolutions just after the shooting of Gen. Gordon, was the occasion of Gen. Carleton's issuing his violent order of Aug. 4, 1776, which Hadden has given in full.

Capt. Forster was promoted to be major of the 21st, or Royal North British Fusileers, Nov. 5, 1776.¹ The next year he participated in Burgoyne's expedition, and his name is signed to the Cambridge parole. He was one of the witnesses at the trial of the American Col. Henley for cruelty towards the Convention troops², and he seems to have been a brave and active, even if not always a judicious officer. He became a lieut.-colonel in the army Nov. 20, 1783 ; and the lieut.-colonel of the 66th Foot, Dec. 31, 1784. His name appears in the British Army Lists for the last time in 1787.³ [¹ B. H. ² L. D. 135-140 : B. X. 316. ³ F. B. 27. ⁴ F. Q.]

either have been consider'd as Prisoners of War, or Rebels. The Brutality of Major W. *ej* induced him to bring out these unhappy wretches and parade them in the Rear of the Troops when the *Feu de joye* was fired upon our late successes, some of them felt the insult but others threw up their Caps & Huzza'd with the Troops in spite of many pushes from their Comrades. Their Officers were sent to Canada on Parole.

Portage, Lake George, Saturday July 26th 1777—Maj'r Gen'l Phillips was pleased to order me to choose 3 Noncom'd officers & 30 Men from Capt'n Borthwick's Company, of these I was to take Command & proceed with the rest of the Artillery, (except Capt. Borthwick and the remainder of his Company left for the defence of Tyconderoga &c) across Lake George, and this day I embarked with them on board the Gun Boats.

Sunday July 27th Being embarked on board 26 Gun Boats, we proceeded with 100 Men from the 62nd Reg't and Capt Monins Company of Canadians under the Command of Lt. Col. Anstruther.^{*ck*} This expedition was to

ej. The officer referred to in the text was Major Griffith Williams, commanding the detachment of the Royal Artillery with Burgoyne, a notice of whom will be found later on. Hadden's disapproval of the major's conduct shows that *all* the British officers were not actuated by the same feelings. Unfortunately all the

cruelty during the Revolutionary war was not practiced by the British, as will be seen by reference to the note upon Col. Stickney to be found later on.

ck. John Anstruther was the third son of Sir Philip Anstruther, of Balcas-kie, Scotland, by his wife, Catharine,

have been larger and under the orders of Maj'r Gen'l Phillips, but the Enemy having (a few days since) destroyed their Vessels (5 in number) including two on the Stocks; and destroying the defences of the *Fort*, abandon'd it retiring towards Fort Edward.

The first 4 or 5 Miles the water is extremely shallow (4 or 5 Feet deep) but after that it grows very deep and will everywhere admit Vessels of

only daughter of Lord Alexander Hay, of Spott, a son of John, first Marquess of Tweeddale, by Lady Jane Scott, daughter of Walter, Earl of Buccleugh.¹ John Anstruther was commissioned as ensign in the 26th Foot May 2d, 1751, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 8th, or King's Regiment of Foot, August 28, 1756; and when the 2d Battalion of that organization was re-numbered as the 63d Foot, in 1758, that became the number of his regiment. [There was another John Anstruther who was made a 1st lieut. in the 107th, or Queen's own Royal Regiment of Volunteers, Oct. 20th, 1761.] He became a captain-lieutenant September 25th, 1761; a captain July 23d 1762; and a major November 5th, 1766. He obtained the lieut.-colonelcy of the 62d Foot October 21st, 1773; and to that corps he was attached during the remainder of his military career.² He accompanied his regiment to Canada in 1776, served under Carleton that year; and the following year took part in Burgoyne's campaign. The 62d was badly cut up at Freeman's Farm September 19, 1777, and after the action it numbered, according to Gen. Burgoyne, "less than 60 men, and four or five officers," Lieut. Colonel Anstruther being

among the wounded. He was again wounded the next month at Bemus' Heights.³ He was included in Burgoyne's surrender, but was paroled or exchanged the following year. He and a number of other British officers on their way to England in the Eagle packet, were captured by the American privateer Vengeance of 20 guns, in September, 1778, and taken into Corunna.⁴ A letter written by this officer to Gen. Gates from Cambridge Dec. 8th, 1777, discloses the fact that they were old West India acquaintances, and shows Anstruther to have been a man of good education.⁵ He became a colonel in the army November 17, 1780, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1782.⁶

Col. Anstruther married Grizel Maria, daughter and heiress of John Thomson, of Charleton, Fifeshire, and heiress of line of the St. Clairs, Earls of Orkney, and of the Lords Sinclair and Ravensheugh. By her he had a daughter, afterwards married to General James Durham of Largo, and two sons, the elder of whom, John Anstruther Thomson, assumed his mother's surname, and succeeded to her estates.^{1,6} [¹B. R. ²B. H. ³B. N. ⁴G. V. 175, 176. ⁵H. J. 418, 440. ⁶D. R. 6D. J.]

any kind. We passed *Rogers's Rock*^{el} famous for his descending a part of it with his Detachment (during the last War) where it appears almost perpendicular. This was his only alternative to escape falling into the hands of a superior Corps of Savages in the French Interest; It happen'd during the Winter which no doubt facilitated his descent by *flakes* of Snow &c collected on the *Rock*, as in its present state one wou'd doubt the fact if not so well authenticated. He afterwards crossed the Lake on the Ice. We passed Sabaoth day Point so called from an Action which happen'd here on a Sunday. This is the only cleared land we have yet come to; it is Seven Miles from the Portage, & on the Eastern Shore of the Lake.^{em} In the evening (there being no wind) we came to an Anchor at 14 Mile Island, so called because it is 14 Miles from Fort George: Here we encamped there being only one House on

^{el}. The story is usually told of Major Robert Rogers individually, and not of his whole party as in the text. Its foundation is as follows. In one of his expeditions, before the British conquest of Canada, Major Rogers, with some of his rangers, encountered a superior force of French and Indians and was defeated, his party being scattered and compelled to fly. Major Rogers was himself pursued to the cliff mentioned in the text, where escape seemed well nigh impossible. Quickly reversing his snow shoes he retraced his steps a short distance and then swung himself into a ravine, whence he made his way to the surface of the lake. The

Indians coming up just after he had escaped, and seeing tracks to the cliff, and none from it, owing to the Major's clever device of reversing his snow shoes, supposed that he had slid down the face of the precipice; and concluding that he must be under the protection of the Great Spirit as he glided safely away on the lake, they at once gave up further pursuit. Since then the precipice in question has gone under the name of Roger's Slide, or Roger's Rock.

^{em}. Sabbath Day Point is on the western shore of Lake George, and not on the eastern shore as stated by Hadden.

the Island; we saw and killed a great number of *Rattle Snakes*, in the Stomach of one of them we found two whole ground Squirrels, on one of which the Hair was quite perfect, it appeared to have been swallowed the preceding day, the effecting of which must have been a work of some time as the Mouth of the Serpent appeared infinitely too small to receive it suddenly; This Snake had 6 Rattles. One was killed which had 13 Rattles. I apprehend one reason for our discovering so many, was the number of Fires and removing old Logs to supply *Fuel*. On an Island near this, an Artillery Man was stung to Death some years ago, and that Island is so famous for them as to be called *Rattle Snake Island*. The *Rattle* is only used when the Snake is coiled, it is then twirl'd round more or less as his fears or anger increase or diminish, and by no means makes so great a noise as people imagine: in fact little more than any other Reptile moving thro. dry Leaves.^{en} We met with no accidents, and having a fair wind arrived at Fort George about Noon on the 28th July. *Lake George* is 36 Miles in length, and a little more than two in width; it lays in a Valley between two immense Ridges of Mountains the bottoms of which border on the Lake, from this circumstance it is extremely deep quite up to the landing near Fort George, and

^{en}. The inhabitants dry and eat the snakes. [*Hadden's Note.*]

has seldom more than two prevailing winds but is very liable to sudden squalls, in one of these the Rev'd Mr Brudenell^{co} was very near lost in a Man of War's Barge. Towards the middle there are a great number of small Islands uninhabited, nor are there above 5 or 6 Settlements on the whole Lake. The Mountains are plentifully supplied with *Deer* the few Inhabitants hunt them with Dogs 'till they take the Water and in attempting to cross the Lake are picked up by People laying wait in Boats or Canoes. Our passage across this Lake was very pleasant and it affords many pleasing & romantic prospects. Were we to retain a Post at Tyconderoga the little depth of water towards that end of Lake George wou'd be a great obstacle to our keeping up a Fleet. *Gun Boats* appear to be well calculated for this *Lake* the water being in general so smooth that they could always act; and at the Fall of the Year they might take advantage of the encrease of Water in the *Saw Mill Creek* to pass the Rapids and Shallows which interrupt the

^{co.} Rev. Edward Brudenel, chaplain to the artillery, accompanied Lady Harriet Acland to the American lines when she joined her wounded husband who had been taken prisoner at Bemus' Heights Oct. 7, 1777. He likewise officiated at the burial of Gen. Fraser, who was mortally wounded in the same action, and his "steady attitude and his unaltered voice though frequently covered with dust which the shot threw upon all sides of him," during that eventful funeral

service, when shelled by the American batteries, is specially mentioned by Burgoyne.¹

We find no further notice of him save the announcement of the death of the Rev. Edward Brudenel, rector of Hougham and Marston, Lincolnshire, June 25, 1805, in Berkeley street, London², though, whether this notice applies to the subject of this sketch, we are not able positively to affirm. [¹B. N. 126, 129. ²L. C. 52.]

communication with Lake Champlain, and be secured under the Guns in Tyconderoga, or Mount Independence. So soon as we arrived at *Fort George* The Infantry were employed in clearing a post on Gage's Hill which commands the Fort at the distance of about 1500 Yards, on the Road to Fort Edward. This is a very strong position, the Road being in a manner cut thro. the height on which the post is taken.

Fort George which stands near the water at the end of the Lake, is a small square Fort faced with Masonry and contains Barracks for about a hundred Men secured from Cannon Shot. This Fort cou'd not stand a Siege, being commanded, & too confined not to be soon reduced by Bombardment. The Rebels before they abandon'd it had endeavour'd to destroy the *defences* and actually blew up the Magazine on the side next the Water, which demolish'd that Face.

The Ruins of *Fort Henry* are on the Eastern shore of the lake, this was never much more than a small stockaded Fort. The Land is cleared for about a Mile Round the Fort on both sides of the Lake, and on it are built 5 Farm Houses. We found that the Enemy had carried off a large Magazine of *Flour* & other

cp. Hadden's confusion of the points of the compass again shows itself here, as *Fort William Henry*, which Hadden

refers to under the name of *Fort Henry*, is on the western shore of Lake George.

Provisions, during the time the British Army lay at *Skeensborough* to repair the communications to Fort *Anne*, destroyed by the Enemy's felling Trees across them after the 9th Reg't were withdrawn: Had a large Corps been advanced to the Cross Roads near Fort Edward, or more properly the greater part of the Army leaving a Detachment at *Skeensborough* we shou'd have got an immense supply of Provision's thus far on our *Route*, and gained much time; Gen'l Burgoyne had intelligence of these circumstances, as the Storekeeper of Fort George (originally in the British service & whose Son was with us) came in, and saw him. From what we cou'd learn the Enemy had made two or three trips with 40 or 50 Waggon's; having full time they carried off or destroyed the minutest articles, and also drove with them the Cattle belonging to the Inhabitants: Indeed, an attempt was made on the last Division of Waggon's by a Detachment of Savages, they Seized one Waggon which had broken down, began to plunder it of the Horses &c, and cou'd not be prevailed on to pursue the rest of them. July 28th (continued) we landed and encamped. I was taken very ill this night.

July 30th most of the Guns & Stores being disembarked, I was order'd with my Detachment and Six Pieces of Lt. Artillery to join Capt.

Jones & remain attached to the Right Wing of the Army. I was attacked with the Ague when I set out, but recover'd on changing the Air, which from the Fires to destroy the Storehouses, Barracks, Shipping on the Stocks &c and a quantity of bad Provisions dispers'd about, was very hot & unpleasant, the Soil being sandy encreased these. Here I first tasted Windsor Beans of any size, those in Canada being scarce and very small. We also took great quantities of Trout in a Creek near here. I marched 14 Miles this day & encamped at the cross Roads about 2 Miles short of F't Edward.

Thursday. July 31st I marched to Fort Edward and encamped with the *first* Brigade British. *Fort Edward*; here are the Ruins of a small Fort thrown up near the Hudson River to cover a part of it which is here *Fordable*. This is at present totally dismantled and does not appear ever to have been calculated for a further purpose than repelling a sudden attack being commanded on both flanks within Cannon Shot; The Army encamped on these heights, The Advanced being on the far side (towards Albany) and the Right Wing about the same distance in the Rear of the Fort; The fires of these encampments were uncommonly beautiful at Night. A small Detachment remained at the Cross Roads to prevent small parties of the Enemy crossing a *Ford* there and interrupting our com-

munications with Fort George, Skeensborough &c. The Germans remained at Fort Anne.

Monday, August 4th Capt *Jones* came up with 2—6 P'rs & Lieut *Reid*.^{cy} He joined me and took command of the whole. On the day following 2—6 and 2—3 Pounders were sent from us to *Capt Pauch* of the Germans, his Brigade then consisting of 4—6 and 4—3 P'rs, Capt *Jones's* of 4—6 Pounders and 60 Artillery Men. This Proportion allowed a Com'd Officer to each 2 guns, and 1 Non-Com'd Off'r & 15 Men to each Gun, a much greater proportion of Men than was attached to any other Guns in that Army, and tho. by no means more than was requisite greatly exceeds what is usually allowed.

August 6th The German Troops marched from *Fort Anne* and encamped at the Cross Roads 2 Miles in our Rear.

Saturday Aug't 9th B. Gen'l *Frazier's* Corps moved forward to Fort Miller, or rather *Duer's*

^{cy}. George Reid entered the Military Academy at Woolwich as a gentleman cadet April 1, 1771. In the summer of 1776, while still a cadet, he was sent out to Canada, where by order of Sept. 24th of that year, he was appointed an acting 2d lieutenant; and Feb. 21, 1777, he was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant in the Royal Artillery. He participated in Burgoyne's campaign, on which he was attached to Capt. *Jones's* company, and at the battle of Freeman's Farm he was very severely engaged, his

captain being killed, and all his company except five, being either killed or wounded, though he and his brother subaltern, Lieut. Hadden, escaped unhurt. He was included in Burgoyne's surrender and signed the Cambridge parole. He must have been exchanged in 1778, as his name appears among Sir Henry Clinton's artillery officers in 1779. He was promoted to a first lieutenancy July 7, 1779, and he retired on a pension of 5*l.* per diem Sept. 1, 1787. [G. U.: H. I. 101 D. O.]

House immediately opposite (7 miles); And a Detachment from the Army, consisting of Reidesel's Dragoons, 150 Provincials, 100 Savages, and a part of Capt. Frazer's Rangers, in all 556, with 2-3 Pounders, were Detached towards Bennington under the Command of Lt. Col. Baume of Reidesils Dragoons.

Copy of Gen'l Burgoyne's *private* instructions to Lt. Col. Baume.^{cr}

"Instructions for Lieut. Col. Baume.

The object of your expedition is, to try the affection of the Country; to disconcert the councils of the Enemy, to mount the Reidesils Dragoons, to compleat *Peter's* Corps and obtain large supplies of Cattle, Horses & Carriages.

The several Corps of which the enclosed is a list, are to form your Command. The Troops must take no Tents and what little Baggage is carried by officers must be on their own Batten Kill to *Arlington*, and take post there 'till the Detach-

^{cr}. Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Baum, of the Dragoon Regiment of Brunswickers, arrived in Canada June 1, 1776, with the first division of Germans that came over that year to re-inforce Gen. Carleton. He was at once appointed to the command of the garrison of Quebec consisting of Prince Frederick's Regiment and his own dragoons, which latter came to America without horses and therefore served as dismounted cavalry. He was

mortally wounded at Bennington, August 17, 1777, where he died two days afterwards, and was buried with military honors. He was undoubtedly a brave man and a good officer, though not the one to have been entrusted with the command of such an expedition. The German Gen. Riedesel writes—"All, who were present, testify that Baum and the troops did well." [K. M. 128-131, 250, 283, 284; K N 265.]

ment of Provincials under the command of Capt. Sherwood^{es} shall join you from the Southward. You are then to proceed to *Manchester*, where you will again take post, so as to secure the pass of the Mountains on the Road from *Manchester* to *Rockingham*; from hence you will detach the Indians and light Troops to the Northward toward *Otter Creek*. On their return and receiving intelligence that no Enemy is upon the Connecticut River, you will proceed by the Road over the mountains to *Rockingham*, where

^{es} Justin, or, as sometimes written, Justus Sherwood, of New Haven, in the Hampshire Grants, was actively engaged in the land troubles with New York growing out of adverse patents during the few years immediately preceding the Revolutionary war. He was proprietor's clerk of New Haven from the first meeting in 1774 until late in 1776, when he removed to Shaftesbury on account of the war. He was then an avowed royalist and as such was punished at Bennington. In his exasperation he raised a company of loyalists for Lieut.-Col. John Peters' Battalion, and joined the British army in Canada. Col. Thomas Johnson, of Newbury, complimented Capt. Sherwood for humanity to him when a prisoner in Canada. Capt. Sherwood participated throughout Burgoyne's campaign, and took an active part in the battle of Bennington. Burgoyne, in the State of the Expedition, refers to the "distinguished bravery" of some of the Provincials with him, among them "Capt. Sherwood, who was forward in every service of danger to the end of the campaign." Upon Burgoyne's surrender Capt. Sherwood, with the other provincials in that army, retired to Canada. This officer was employed

by Gen. Haldimand, who succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as commander in chief in Canada, in the negotiations with Vermont in 1780-83; and Capt. Sherwood's letters to various parties, and his reports to Gen. Haldimand while conducting his delicate duties as a commissioner in the attempt to detach Vermont from the other colonies, show that he was a man of superior education. When several provincial corps were consolidated by Gen. Haldimand in November, 1781, under Maj. Edward Jessup, Capt. Sherwood became the senior captain of that organization, his commission dating from Nov. 19th in that year. The various warrants for the payment of money to Capt. Sherwood in 1781 and '82 "on account of Expenses and other Expenses incurred by fitting out Scouts," and as "Agent for carrying on Secret Service," to be found in the Haldimand papers, clearly indicate his activity and the large measure of confidence reposed in him by his superiors. Unfortunately we have not been able to trace this officer after the termination of the war, though it is highly probable that he settled and died in Canada. [M. L.: M M: B. N: F. E. 180: F. F. 152: F. G. 177. 407: F. M. 81.]

you will take post. This will be the most distant part of the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the Mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult. You must therefore endeavour to be informed of the force of the Enemies Militia in the neighbouring Country; Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there while the Indians & Light Troops are detached up the River; and you are afterwards to descend the River to *Brattleborough* and from that place by the quickest march you are to return by the great road to *Albany*. During your whole progress your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you all horses fit to mount the Dragoons under your command, or to serve as bat-horses^{et} for the Troops, together with as many *Saddles* and *bridles* as can be found. The number of Horses requisite besides those necessary for mounting the Regiment of Dragoons ought to be Thirteen Hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the Army it will be so much the better. Your Parties are likewise to bring in Waggons and other convenient carriages, with as many draft

^{et}. *Bat*, in French, signifies pack saddle, and Bat-Horses, or Baw-Horses, are baggage horses belonging to the officers when on actual duty.

Bat-Men, or Baw-Men, were originally servants hired in war time to take care of the horses belonging to the train of

artillery, bakery, baggage, etc., and they generally wore the king's livery during their service. Men who were excused from regimental duty, for the specific purpose of attending to the horses belonging to their officers, were called Bat-Men. [G. N.]

Oxen as will be necessary to draw them, and all Cattle fit for slaughter, milch Cows excepted, which are to be left for the use of the Inhabitants. Regular receipts in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the above mentioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remain'd in their habitations and otherwise complied with the Terms of (Gen'l Burgoyne's) ye manifesto. But no receipt is to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the Rebels. As you will have with you persons perfectly acquainted with the Country, it may perhaps be advisable to tax the several districts with their proportions of the several articles, and limit the hours of delivery; and shou'd you find it necessary to move before such delivery can be made, hostages of the most respectable People shou'd be taken to secure their following next day. All possible means to be used to prevent plundering. As it is probable that Capt. Sherwood who is already detached to the Southward, and will join you at Arlington, will drive a considerable quantity of Cattle and Horses to you; you will therefore send in those cattle to the Army, with a proper detachment from *Peters* Corps to cover them, in order to disincumber yourself, but you must always keep the Regiment of Dragoons compact. The Dragoons themselves must ride and take care of the Horses of the Regiment. Those Horses

which are destined for the use of the Army must be tied together by strings of Ten each in order that one Man may lead Ten Horses. You will give the unarmed Men of Peters Corps, to conduct them, and the Inhabitants whom you can trust. You must always take your Camps in a good Position, but at the same time where there is good pasture ; and you must have a chain of Centinels around your Cattle when grazing.

Col'l Skeene will be with you as much as possible in order to assist you with his advice to help you to distinguish the good Subjects from the bad, to procure the best intelligence of the Enemy, and choose those people who are to bring me the accounts of your progress and success.

When you find it necessary to halt for a day or two, you must always entrench the Camp of the Regiment of Dragoons, in order never to risque an attack or affront from the Enemy. As you will return with the Regiment of Dragoons mounted, you must always have a detachment of Capt. Frazers or Peter's Corps in front of the Regiment of Dragoons, in order to prevent your falling into an ambuscade when you march thro. the woods. You will use all possible means to make the Country believe that the Troops under your command are the advanced Corps of the

Army, and that it is intended to pass to Connecticut on the Road to Boston. You will likewise insinuate that the main Army from *Albany* is to be joined at Springfield by a Corps of Troops from *Rhode Island*.

It is highly probable that the Corps under Mr Warner,^{cu} now supposed to be at Manchester, will retreat before you; but should they contrary to expectation be able to collect in great force, and post themselves advantageously it is left to your discretion to attack them or not, always bearing in mind that your Corps is too valuable, to let any considerable loss be hazarded on the occasion. Should any Corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's^{cv} main Army in order to interrupt your Retreat, you are to take as strong a Post as the Country will afford and send the quickest intelligence to me, and you may depend on my making such movements as shall put the Enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you.

It is imagined the progress of this expedition may be executed in about a fortnight; but every movement of it must depend on your success in obtaining such supplies of Provisions as will enable you to subsist for your return to this Army in case you can get no more; and should

^{cu}. Col. Seth Warner is the person alluded to in the text.

^{cv}. The person alluded to in the text is Benedict Arnold, then a brigadier general on the American side.

not the Army be able to reach Albany before your expedition shou'd be completed, I will find means to send you notice of it, and give your Route another direction.

All persons acting in Committees, or any Officers under the direction of the Congress, either civil or Military, are to be made Prisoners.

I heartily wish you success, and have the honor to be, Sir Your most obed't

Extract from a Rebel } humble Serv't

News Paper— } JOHN BURGOYNE

Lieut't Gen'l

Sunday August 10th-77. The 53rd Reg't were order'd back to Garrison Tyconderoga, The 62d Reg't being to join the Detachment under Lt. Col. Anstruther at Fort George. The Army therefore is now diminish'd 1 British and 1 German Battalion, left at Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, as also nearly a Company of Artillery. Brigadier *Gen'l Powel* returns to command at these Posts.

August 13th Gen'l Orders. The Army marches to-morrow by the right in one Column to *Fort Miller*.

Aug't 14th The Army marched to *Duers House* (usually called Fort Miller in Gen'l Orders) and encamped on the adjacent heights: Brig'r Gen'l Frazer moved yesterday to *Batten*

Kill. There is little worth remarking here, except that *Mr Duer*^{ew} married to one of Lord Stirling's Daughters is building a very good House, and being with Congress Gen'l Burgoyne has made it his head Quarters.

Aug't 15th an express arrived to acquaint Gen'l Burgoyne that *Lt. Col. Baume* was attacked near Bennington about 25 Miles from hence, and had taken Post to act as occasion might require, the Enemy being superior in Numbers. The Reserve to the advanced Corps consisting of the German Grenadiers & Chasseurs, about 7 or 800 Men, with *two* 6 Pounders were order'd to march and support him under the command of Lt. Col. Brymen.

Aug't 16th Lt. Col. Baume was attacked, defeated, and taken, owing to the tardiness of Lt. Col. Brymen, who did not march a Mile an hour to his support; Lt. Col. Brymen was afterwards attacked on his march, in which action he lost his Cannon. Brig'r Gen'l Frazer proposed for the advanced Corps to sustain *Baume* in place of the Corps

^{ew}. Wm. Duer married Catherine the youngest of Lord Stirling's two daughters. July 27, 1775, he was appointed deputy adjutant-general of the Continental Army, with the rank of colonel, but a committee of Congress reported August 23, 1775, that he ought to be allowed to decline the appointment, though satisfied "his so declining proceeds not from any motive unfriendly to

this country, but from a necessity that results from the particular state of his private affairs.¹

He held various civil offices at different times, and an interesting sketch of him is to be found in Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War, Vol. 2, 587, De Lancey's note XLVII. [1E. 139, 548.]

under *Brymen*, this was rejected because the advanced Corps was too considerable to be risked and the loss's which followed were the consequences of this refusal.

Aug't 17th. Early this morning the Army marched to Batten Kill to cover the retreat of Lt. Col. Brymen's Corps: About Noon they returned across the *Ford* over the Creek, and in the evening we returned to our old encampment at *Duers House*, when the following Gen'l Order was given out.

"It was endeavoured amongst other objects by the late expedition which marched to the left to supply such a supply of Cattle as might have enabled the Army to proceed without waiting the arrival of the Magazines. That attempt having failed of success thro. the chances of War, the Troops must necessarily halt some days, for bringing forward the Transport of Provisions, and the several Corps will employ that time to collect their Sick and convalescents, and such other scatter'd parties as are merely on Regimental duties."

Aug't 24th A deserter Shot, and a reward of a Hundred Dollars offer'd for the discovery of any Emmissary of the Enemy enticing Men to desert.

August the 26th Gen'l Orders.

"The Lieut't General having received the report from Lt. Col. Brymen (commanding the German reserve) relative to the affair of St. Coicks Mills (near Bennington) and also having obtained every collateral information possible, thinks it justice to declare publickly that he has no reason to be dissatisfied with the personal spirit, of the Officers or Troops in the action, that on the contrary the Officers who commanded the different Corps acted with intrepidity. The failure of the enterprize seems to have been owing in the first instance to the credulity of those^{cx} who managed the department of intelligence, suffer'd great numbers of the Rebel Soldiers to pass and repass and perhaps count the numbers of the Detachment, and upon an ill founded confidence induced Lieut. Col. Baume to advance too far to have a secure retreat. The next cause was the slow movement of Lt. Col. Brymens Corps which from bad weather, bad Roads, tired Horses, and other impediments stated by Lt. Col. Brymen, cou'd not reach Twenty four Miles from Eight in the morning of the 15th, to four in the afternoon of the 16th, the succour therefore arrived too late. The failure of ammunition in the management of which there appears to have been improvidence, was another misfortune. The rest seem'd common accidents of War upon the whole

^{cx.} Lieut Col, Skeene. [*Hadden's Note.*]

the Enemy have severely felt their little success, and there is no circumstance to affect the Army with further regret or melancholy than that which arises from the loss of some Gallant Men, but let the Affair of the Mills at St Coick^{cy} remain henceforward as a lesson against the impositions of a treacherous Enemy (many of whom in the very hour of swearing allegiance to the King, fought against his Troops) and against expending ammunition too fast by which conquering Troops were obliged to retire with loss. The reflection upon this affair will moreover excite alertness and exertion in every Corps marching for the support of another, by shewing in whatever degree these qualities may be possess'd by the commanding Officers (and they are not doubted in the present instance) yet unless they are general, common accidents may become fatal and the loss of Two hours may decide the turn of an enterprize, and it might happen in some cases the fate of a Campaign."

Brigadier Gen'l Stark, who commanded the Rebels in the above Action gave the following account of it, and which was thus publish'd in their News Papers, viz

"Extract of a Letter from Brig'r General Stark, to the Council of the State of New Hampshire, dated Bennington 18th August 1777.—

cy. Where the action happened, near Bennington. [*Hadden's Note.*]

"I congratulate you on the late success of your Troops under my command, by express I propose to give you a brief account of my proceedings since I wrote to you last.

I left Manchester on the 8th inst, and arrived here the 9th, the 13th, I was informed that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, which is twelve Miles distant from this place, on their march hither. I detached Col'l Gregg,^{ez} with

re. Lieut.-Colonel William Gregg was a grandson of Capt. James Gregg, who was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, married Jane Cargil, embarked with his family for America in 1718, landed at Cape Elizabeth, spent the winter there, and was afterwards one of the first sixteen settlers of Londonderry, N. H. William Gregg was the fourth son of Capt. John Gregg (the second son of Capt. James Gregg), by Agnes Rankin, his wife, and was born at Londonderry, Oct. 21, 1730.¹ "Col. Gregg," says Farmer and Moore's *Historical Collections*, vol. 3, p. 311, "at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, commanded a company of minute men in the town of Londonderry, which he marched to the relief of his countrymen in Boston, early in the year 1775; and tarried there till more urgent calls required his presence at home, as muster-master for his regiment, and a member of the committee of safety.

"The ensuing year he was commissioned by the Council of the State, to be Major in the first regiment of militia raised in New Hampshire, to recruit the army at New York, where he performed various laborious services, and suffered numerous privations and hardships. In the year 1777, Col. Gregg and James Betton, Esq., were appointed agents to proceed to the seat of government, then at Baltimore, where they obtained and

brought to the New England states, upwards of \$1,100,000, for the purpose of prosecuting the war. After making disbursements to Gen. Clinton in New York, and at Hartford, Conn., he returned to Boston, and from thence to his native state, where he received the thanks of the Legislature for his services.

"In the same year he sustained a commission of Lieut.-Colonel in the brigade commanded by the intrepid and immortal Stark, and commanded the van-guard in the memorable battle of Bennington, where he was honored by the confidence and approbation of that distinguished officer.

"At the close of the war he retired to his farm, and employed himself in the delightful pursuits of husbandry, till within a few years of his death. He deceased at Londonderry, on the 16th September, 1824, at the age of 93.

"The leading feature in the character of Col. Gregg was perseverance. Whatever he undertook, he saw accomplished. In the prime of life, his industry and resolution in the discharge of his affairs was unrivalled. Those who were in his employ, partook of the same spirit, for he went forward and cheered them, in the midst of severe toil, with tales of 'high emprise' and pleasing anecdote. He inherited the spirit of hospitality, for which the emigrants of Ireland have long

200 Men under his command, to stop their march. In the evening I had information by express, that there was a large body of the Enemy on their way, with their field Pieces, in order to march thro. the country, commanded by Governor Skeene. The 14th I marched with my Brigade, and a few of this State's Militia to oppose them, and to cover Gregg's retreat, who found himself unable to withstand their superior number; about four miles from this Town I accordingly met him on his return, and the Enemy close in pursuit of him, within half a Mile of his rear, but when they discover'd me, they presently halted on a very advantageous piece of ground; I drew up my little Army on an eminence, in open view of their encampment but could not bring them to an engagement; I marched back about a Mile and there encamped. I sent out a few Men to Skirmish with them, killed thirty of them and two Indian Chiefs. The 15th it rained all day; I sent out parties to harrass them. The 16th I was joined by this State's Militia, and those of Berkshire County. I divided my Army into three divisions, and sent Colo'l Nicholas ^{du} with 250 men on the rear of their

been signalized. His home was always the resting place of the weary, and none left it without feasting on the bounties of his board. Youth and age were delighted in his company, and his hospitality gained him numerous friends, in addition to those who esteemed him for

the good he had done his country."
[¹ B. I., 516, 517.]

Id. The following notice of Colonel (afterwards General) Nichols is taken from an Historical Sketch of Amherst, Hillsborough Co., New Hampshire, by John

left Wing, Col. Henrick,^{db} in the rear of their Right with 300 men, order'd when joined to attack the same. In the meantime I sent 300

Freeman. "On the 23d of May, 1790, died the Hon. Moses Nichols of Amherst, N. H. He was a native of Reading, Massachusetts. He had served his townsmen in the capacity of delegate to the Convention which assembled in 1778 for forming a permanent plan, or system of government, on certain established principles, and a representative to the general court three years. Ardently attached to the principles of liberty, he took a conspicuous part in the revolution which established our independence. He was appointed Colonel of the Sixth Regiment of militia 6th December, 1776, and commanded a regiment under Gen. Stark, and was in the engagement at Bennington.

"Beside his military services, he was useful as a physician in this place, where he practised many years. He was register of deeds for the county of Hillsborough, from 1776 to his death. This office with many others of trust and responsibility, it is believed, he discharged with fidelity.

"Gen. Nichols left nine children: Hannah, Moses, Joseph, Elizabeth, Eaton, Perkins, Mary, Pearson and Charity. Moses is a physician and resides [1837] in Sherbrooke, Lower Canada."¹ One of Gen Stark's letters to President Weare, of New Hampshire, shows that Gen. Nichols was in service March 18, 1781.^a [¹ I. O. 97. ^a L. F. 210.]

^{db}. Col. Samuel Herrick, not Henrick as Hadden has it, is the person referred to in the text. He went to Bennington, in that state, about the year 1768, and resided about two miles west of the meeting house, but left the town and state soon after the close of the

Revolutionary war, removing to Springfield, Montgomery Co., New York; and nothing is known of his previous or subsequent life. Early in 1775 he was a captain, and to him was entrusted the duty of arresting Major Skene, the younger, which constituted a part of the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point under Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. Accordingly on the 9th of May, 1775, Capt. Herrick, with 30 men, proceeded to Skenesborough and took Skene the younger, his aunt, two sisters, and a man named Brook, prisoners, and seized a schooner and several bateaux, which were sent to Ticonderoga.

"Major Sk-ne's estate," wrote Capt. Elisha Phelps, commissary of the expedition, to the Connecticut General Assembly, "we have put into the care of Capt. Noah Lee, a man of good character and capable of taking care of the business well. The people on the grants are in much distress for want of provisions. The iron work must be carried on for the benefit of the people here, but it would not do by no means to have Mr. Brooks stay here, as he was looked upon to be a bigger enemy to his country than Major Skene, and 'tis an easy matter to send an Indian to Canada, and inform them on all schemes and plans. One enemy in the city is worse than ten outside." July 15, 1777, the Vermont Council of Safety commissioned him "Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of a Regiment of Rangers Raised within this State for the Immediate defence thereof, and to be under the Special direction of this Council or the Commander in Chief of the Army Commanding the department on the East side of the Hudson's River." and his commission remained in force till the first day of the next January. He

men to oppose the enemies front to draw their attention that way ; soon after I detached the

took an active part in the affair at Bennington, and Gordon, in his history, in giving an account of the action, speaks of 'the superior military skill' of Colonels Warner and Herrick as being of great service to Gen. Stark. Col. Herrick with his rangers in conjunction with Col. John Brown of Pittsfield, made an attempt in September, 1777, to cut Burgoyne's communication with Canada. Though the attack on Diamond Island in Lake George, and on the main works at Ticonderoga, failed of success, yet they captured some minor posts as well as some of the outworks of Ticonderoga, took 293 prisoners, including eleven officers, a quantity of provisions, and a number of arms, and released 100 Americans who had been made prisoners at the battle of Hubbardton. The Council returned Col. Herrick and his corps "sincere thanks" for their spirited conduct in this enterprise, and, on Nov. 20th, Col. Herrick received this appreciative letter :

"IN COUNCIL, BENNINGTON,
20th Nov., 1777.

"DEAR COL'o: In consequence of your Letter of the 14th Inst., requesting to be removed to this or some place Nigh this, the Council immediately Sent an Express to General Gates with a Copy of your Letter, as also a Copy of Gen. Powells Letter to you, & your answer. The express has this moment Returned. Inclosed you have a Copy of the General's letter, which I think does you and the State of Vermont great honor, & by which you will find the General's approbation on your Regiments being Dismissed. The Council therefore order that your Regiment be Dismissed immediately as soon as this Comes to hand unless it will be a means of Frustrating some plans which you have in prosecution. You will be able to judge in that

affair. I am directed by Council to return you and the Regiment under your Command, both officers & soldiers, their Heartly thanks for their good services to this & the United States. The Council is also requested by the Hon'ble Major General Gates to return you his thanks for the good services of your Regiment, which you will see by his Letter inclosed. I am Sir sincerely

your Humble Servant,
by order of Counsel,
COLO. HERRICK. JOSEPH FAY, Sec'y."

Gen. Gates's epistle, referred to in the above letter, elicited this response from Col. Herrick.

"PAWLET, November 27th, 1777.

"DEAR GENERAL: The Honour you have been pleased to confer on the State of Vermont, and the Troops under my Command which were raised by authority of that State, in giving your approbation and applause to the service performed by them, not only compensates for the fatigues and Injuries we have sustained, but call upon me for returns of Gratitude. Such unexpected Tokens of your generosity, I consider as an Earnest to Engage us with double Zeal and faithfulness at any future Period in the Service for the Interest of the free and Independent States of America. Be pleased Sir, to except of my Humble and Harty Thanks, accompanied with those of the officers and soldiers of my regiment, for the Honour conferred on us by your applause and approbation of our Services. Heartly Wishing that you may Live Long a rewarder of Merit, and Whilst you continue Commander in Chief in the Northern department, may you never want faithfull Men to assist your Military Operations nor Good Soldiers to fight Victorious Battles with you, and when satisfied with the thanks, Good wishes,

Colonels Hubbard^{ed} and Stickney^{dd} on their Right Wing with 200 Men to attack that part ; all which plans had their desired effect. Col Nichols sent me word that he stood in need

and acclamations of Thousands, who calls you friend, Benefactor and Saviour of this Country, may succeeding endless Ages proclaim your Virtues, and your unparalleled Actions fill the splendid Pages of American Annals with unfading Glory and Lustre.

I have the Honour to be Dear General
Your honour's most

Obedient Hum'le Ser't

SAM'L HERRICK.

The Hon'ble MAJ. GEN'L GATES."

It was proposed to send an expedition to Canada in the spring of 1778, and as early as in January of that year recruiting for it commenced, but the expedition being speedily abandoned, the recruiting ceased. Lieut.-Colonel Herrick, however, became colonel of the Second Regiment of Vermont Militia in the spring of 1778, after which date no further notice of him has been found. [M. L. 135, 160, 176, 185, 198, 211, 259; G. B. 295; C. M. 170, 176; D. R.]

dc. Col. David Hobart, and not Hubbard as Hadden has it, is the person referred to in the text.

The following is borrowed from a foot note to p. 320, vol. 11, of the report of the Adjutant General of New Hampshire for 1866.

Col. David Hobart was of Plymouth, and had command of "the 12th regiment of N. H. militia." He was originally from Hollis, and moved to Plymouth under the patronage of Samuel Cummings Esq., of Hollis, who was a large proprietor in the township of Plymouth. Col. Hobart fought with great bravery in the battle of Bennington, and received due credit from his general on

that occasion. He, with Col. Stickney, led the detachment against the tory breast work where there was the most desperate fighting. The Tories expected no quarter, and gave none — fighting to the last like tigers. They were completely surrounded within their fortifications, and the work of death was finished with bayonets and clubbed muskets. Hobart and Stickney saw the work thoroughly done. Stark had ordered the men, as they passed through a field of corn, to put a husk of corn in each one's hat. This precaution was a great benefit. As the Tories were dressed like themselves, in their 'working clothes,' the corn husks, under the hat band, served to distinguish friends from foes, and a man without a husk in his hat was sure to be visited by a bayonet or the breech of a musket.

After the war was over, Col. Hobart, having lost his wife, married a widow of Haverhill, Mass., and moved to that town where he died soon after. This fact accounts for the mystery that has existed as to him. Gen. Stark, in his report, called him *Col. Hubbard*, and Dr. Belknap and other historians have followed his error. Living and dying out of the state, there was little chance of correcting the error, and not until lately, did any one know who was Col. Hubbard, that led in the attack upon the Tory breastwork at Bennington.

dd. Thomas Stickney was the eldest son of Jeremiah Stickney by Elizabeth, his wife, and was born in Bradford, Massachusetts, probably about the year 1729, as it is known that his next younger brother was born April 24, 1731. When Thomas was about two years old his

of a reinforcement, which I readily granted, consisting of 100 Men at which time he commenced the attack precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was followed by all the rest. I pushed forward the remainder with all speed.

father removed with his family to Penacook, New Hampshire, which, in the latter part of 1733-4, was incorporated as the township of Rumford, and in 1765, became the parish, and subsequently the town, and then the city of Concord. Jeremiah Stickney, the father, was a valuable citizen, and held many offices, both civil and military, until his death in 1763. As early as January 1732-3, he is referred to as ensign, in 1746, as lieutenant, and in 1761 as Col. Jeremiah Stickney. In that frontier settlement in those early days Indian depredations were frequent, and the first mention found of Thomas Stickney is in 1746, when by the "committee of militia for settling the Garrisons in the frontier Towns and Plantations in the Sixth Regiment of Militia in this Province," (New Hampshire), he was "ordered and stated" to "the Garrison round the house of Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney," his father. His brother William was captured by the Indians in 1746, and after a year's captivity, was drowned while making his escape.

Between 1767 and 1797, Thomas Stickney was rarely without a town office of some sort, for he held all kinds and descriptions from Moderator to Hogreeve, and frequently several at a time; thus, in 1771, he was a Tythingman, a Fence-viewer, and a Hogreeve; in 1774, a Selectmen, a Tythingman, and a Surveyor of Highways; and in 1777, Moderator, Representative to the General Assembly, and a member of the Committee of Safety. He seems likewise to have been active in the militia, as he is referred to in 1767, as lieutenant, in 1770 as captain, and in

1774, as Col. Thomas Stickney. Jan. 20, 1774, he was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Regiment of New Hampshire militia, the colonel being Andrew McMillan. The militia officer of that day must have presented a striking appearance according to the following order prescribing the uniform of the 15th New Hampshire, viz:—"The officers to wear red coats, cuffs, lin'd, and lapel'd with sky-blue. Sky-blue waistcoats and breeches, all trim'd with white. Black hats with silver hat-bands, button and loops, without lace. White stockings, cockade, sash and white gorgets. Swords with silver hilts. Captains and Lieutenants to carry fuses. Field officers to wear silver shoulder knots.

"By order of His Excellency,
JOHN WINTWORTH, ESQ.,
Captain-General.

"February 15, 1774.

"The exercise or discipline ordered to be observed and practised in this regiment is that composed for the use of and practised by the Militia of the County of Norfolk, in Great Britain.

"By order of His Excellency," &c.

The fact that Col. Stickney was upon the committee of safety for several years and commanded a militia regiment, proves that he was an active patriot in the Revolution. He signed himself in a communication to the New Hampshire committee of safety dated Aug. 28, 1776, "Colonel of the 13th Regiment of the Colony of New Hampshire," but the next year, according to the Report of the Adjutant General of New Hampshire for 1866, vol. 2, page 321, note, he commanded "the 11th regiment of

Our People behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery imaginable; had they been *Alexanders* or *Charles's* of Sweden, they cou'd not have behaved better; the Action lasted two Hours at the expiration of which time we forced their Breast-work at the muzzles of their Guns, took two Pieces of Brass Cannon, with a number of Prisoners; but before I cou'd get them into

militia." He did good service under Stark at the battle of Bennington, where his regiment with Col. Hobart's attacked and carried the tory redoubt.³

Much has been written by American writers about the cruelty of American loyalists to their patriot neighbors, but less stress has usually been laid, by such writers, upon the cruelty of American patriots to their loyalist neighbors. Caleb Stark in his Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark, in speaking of the prisoners taken at Bennington, says,—“The Hessians and English were treated as prisoners of war, and marched from the field in their ranks; but the tories, 152 in number, were tied in pairs; to each pair a horse was attached by traces with, in some cases, a negro, for his rider; they were led away amid the jeers and scoffs of the victors—the good house-wives of Bennington taking down beds to furnish cords for the occasion. Many of their neighbours had gone over to the enemy the day before the battle.” [p. 63.] In the same volume a soldier of Col. Stickney's regiment describes the battle of Bennington, and among other things, says, “One tory, with his left eye shot out, was led in, mounted on a horse, who had also lost his left eye. It seems to me cruel now—it did not then.” [p. 69]. The Council of Bennington in Jan. 1778, devised a punishment for tories that possessed more ingenuity than humanity. The Council's order pro-

ceeds as follows:—“Let the overseer of the tories detach ten of them, with proper officers to take the charge, and march them in two distinct files from this place through the Green Mountains, for breaking a path through the snow. Let each man be provided with three days provisions; let them march and tread the snow in said road of suitable width for a sleigh and span of horses; order them to return, marching in the same manner, with all convenient speed. Let them march at 6 o'clock tomorrow morning.” [Idem, p. 63, note.]

Col. Stickney lived and died in Concord, his death occurring Jan. 26, 1809. He married Anna Osgood, by whom he had eight children, the eldest having been born Dec. 7, 1753; and some of his descendants still survive. Col. Stickney was manifestly one of the richest residents in the town in 1778, as the town rates for that year show that but three individuals and two firms paid more tax than he. The old Stickney mansion, which was built by Col. Jeremiah Stickney, the father of Col. Thomas Stickney, and was formerly a garrison-house, is still standing in Concord. From time to time it has been enlarged and modified, but it still retains its venerable appearance, and it has been occupied from the beginning down to the present day by successive generations of the Stickney family.¹ [B. F. 1, 1205. 1. N. 321, note.]

proper form, I received intelligence, that there was a large reinforcement within two Miles of us on their march, which occasioned us to renew our attack; but luckily for us Col. Warners Regiment came up which put a stop to their Career. We soon rallied and in a few minutes the Action began very warm and desperate, which lasted 'till night; we used their own Cannon against them, which proved of great Service to us. At Sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time, we then pursued 'till dark, when I was obliged to halt for fear of killing my own Men; we took two Pieces more of their Cannon, together with all their Baggage, a number of Horses, Carriages, &c, killed upwards of 200 of the Enemy on the Field of Battle; the number of the wounded is not yet known, as they are scatter'd about in many places.

I have 1 Lieut. Col'l since dead, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 14 Lieut's, 4 Ensigns or Cornets, 1 Judge Advocate, 1 Baron, 2 Canadian Officers 6 Sergeants 1 Aid de Camp, 1 Hessian Chaplain 3 Hessian Surgeons and 700 Prisoners. I enclose you a copy of Gen'l Burgoyne's instructions to Col. Baume, who commanded the detachment that engaged us; our wounded are 42, 10 Privates and four Officers belonging to my Brigade are dead; The dead and wounded of the other Corps I do not know, as they have not

brought in their return as yet, I am Gentlemen with the greatest regard and respect,

Your most obedient humble serv't

JOHN STARK
Brigadier Gen'l.

P. S. I think we have returned the Enemy a proper compliment in the above action for the Hubbartown engagement."

Extract from a Rebel paper—the above being with Baume's instructions published by order. The following *Resolve* may serve to show the situation of the Gen'l's wardrobe and what the General Assembly thought a proper reward for Victory. Extracted as above.

"The following Letter to the Honorable Brigadier Gen'l Starks, and *Resolve* passed the General Assembly of this State (New Hampshire) on Friday last.

Sir,

The General Assembly of this State, take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your acceptable present—The tokens of victory gained at the *Memorable Battle of Bennington*. The events of that day strongly mark the bravery of the Men, who, unskilled in War, forced from their intrenchments, a chosen number of Veteran Troops, of boasted Britons; as well as the address & valour of the General, who directed their

movements and led them on to conquest. This signal exploit open'd the way to a rapid succession of advantages most important to America. These trophies shall be safely deposited in the archives of the State, and there remind posterity, of the *irresistable power of the God of Armies*, and the *honors due* to the memory of the Brave. Still attended with like successes may you long enjoy the just reward of your grateful Country.

Resolved unanimously, that the Board of War of this State, be, and hereby are directed in the name of this Court, to present to the Honorable Brigadier General Starks, a compleat suit of Clothes becoming his Rank, together with a piece of Linnen; As a Testimony of the high sense this Court have of the great and important Services render'd by that brave Officer, to the United States of America.

Finis

It was remarked upon the above *reward* That either the General was *Stark* naked or Congress stark mad.

J. H.

From everything the Army could learn, the plan of operations for this expedition was infinitely too large for its numbers, and it might have been known that the Inhabitants were in general unfriendly. The meeting Gen'l Stark

was accidental, he being on his way to join their main Army near Albany.

As for Col. Skeene, with the best intentions in the world, he was a famous marplot, and Ministry were highly culpable in recommending him to the confidence of Gen'l Burgoyne which I hear is the case. He acted like a —— showing his powers to every Man who pretended to be friendly, among which number were many of the Rebel Soldiers, who to remove doubts took the Oath's of allegiance and were told to wear *White Papers* in their Hats, that, being the distinguishing mark of Friends, to crown the folly of this farce they were permitted immediately to return, in fact, to join their respective Corps in the Rebel Army.

The trusting so important an affair to a Man who cou'd not utter one word of English when "*insinuations*" were *required* and address expected certainly can hardly be palliated by the jealousy of Gen'l Reidesil from a wish to employ the Germans on some important enterprize.^{de} Because the Regiment of Dragoons were to be mounted surely it was no reason they shou'd be detached with *Swords* weighing at least 10 or

de. This statement is utterly inconsistent with Gen. Riedesel's to be found in vol. I, of his Memoirs, Letters and Journals; and it must be borne in mind

that the British sought to cast as much responsibility for the Bennington failure upon the Germans as possible, and not always with strict justice.

12 Pounds, particularly as Dragoons cannot be expected to march or manouvre well on Foot and be expert at Treeing or Bush fighting, a task the British Light Infantry of this Army are not fully equal to. Tho. Col. Baume (as might be expected from a good Officer in his own line of Service) took an advantageous post, he extended his front too much (occupying above $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile) and thus weaken'd the whole; He had an English Engineer with him Lieut D—^{df} who very *judiciously* threw up his works on the side of the Hill and the Enemy coming in his Rear of course soon made an attack in front certain of success.

The day of the Action (very unfortunately for himself & Party) a half Pay Captain in the British Army with 90 Men on their way to the Army met with Lt. Col. Baume and remain'd with him, these unfortunate Men made a noble resistance from behind a Stone Fence, but overpower'd by numbers their leader, whose

^{df}. Andrew Durnford, whom Hadden refers to in the text, entered the corps of Royal Engineers July 28, 1769, as a practitioner engineer and ensign, and was promoted to be a sub-engineer and lieutenant March 6, 1775.¹ He was one of the engineers on Burgoyne's expedition, and accompanied Baum to Bennington where he was taken prisoner.² One of the maps in Burgoyne's State of the Expedition was drawn by this officer, and is entitled "Position of the Detachment under Lieut.-Col. Baum, at Walmscock near Bennington. Shew-

ing the Attacks of the Enemy on the 16th of August, 1777. Drawn by Lieut. Durnford, Engineer." From 1779 to 1782 he was an assistant deputy quarter-master-general, at first in New York, and afterwards in Georgia.³ He became a captain-lieutenant and captain in the Engineers Oct. 1, 1784; a major in the army May 6, 1795; and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1799.⁴ [¹B. H. ²K. M. 255; D. R. ³D. P.; H. B.; G. S. 457.]

name was *Depeyster dg* and most of the Party fell; of those who escaped the first onset and were taken many were killed in Cool blood or otherwise treated with the utmost cruelty: this at once held forth a shocking example and deterr'd any others of our friends from joining us.

It does not appear that the Dragoons made any violent efforts, the Indians to a Man, and most of the Canadians Ran away at first and got safe in to us. Luke Le Corn *dh* and his Son in

dg. No officer named Depeyster being known to have participated in the battle of Bennington it is believed that Hadden confounded the name with that of Phister, as an half-pay officer of this latter name joined Baum very much as he attributes to "Depeyster." Francis Phister, or Phister, as he is called in the earlier Army Lists, entered the 60th, or Royal American Reg't of Foot, as an ensign Sept. 15, 1758, and was promoted to a lieutenantcy Sept. 18, 1760. Although his name does not appear on the half pay list prior to 1773, yet he undoubtedly went upon half-pay and returned to active service, or else he lost priority in regimental rank for some unexplained reason, as in later Army Lists his regimental rank in the 60th is given as Oct. 9, 1767, with army rank from Sept. 18, 1760, the date of his original regimental commission in that grade. He was present March 11, 1768, at a council with the Six Nations, *Coghawaga* Confederacy and the Cherokee deputies, held in the council room at Johnson Hall; and in 1773, he exchanged on to the half-pay of Capt. Joseph Hopkins' Independent Company of Rangers, his name appearing on that list as late as

1783, some half dozen years after his death. Upon retiring from active military service he settled about half a mile west from Hoosick four corners, Vermont. In the early part of 1776 there seemed to have been some doubt which side he would espouse, as Gen. Schuyler was then expecting to obtain his services for the Americans, as appears from that officer's letter to the President of Congress dated Albany, Feb. 20, 1776, and which contains this language:—"I find that Mr. Phister, whom I mentioned as an Engineer, cannot be procured. What shall we do for proper persons to fill that branch?" Burgoyne's successes decided Phister's course, however, and he commanded a party of torices in the battle of Bennington, where he was mortally wounded. Hun. L. B. Armstrong of Dorset, Vt., has this officer's commission as a lieutenant in the Royal Americans, dated Sept. 18, 1760, his draughting instruments, and a beautifully drawn map of the route from St. John's via Lake George and the Hudson, to New York city. [M. N. 154, 158, 186: M. L. 176: F. 1215: B. H: I. R. 51.]

dh. See appendix 17.

Law *M. Lenodier*, *di* the former Commanding the Indians (famous for his cruelties to the English Prisoners during the last War) and the latter the Canadians were among the first who got in, and scarce making a stop at the Army their panic made them proceed to Canada, where they were followed by most of the Indians : Had Gen'l Burgoyne known of this, further flight he declared he wou'd have secured the *Heroes* as Deserters ; in Canada they were out of his power and cou'd tell their own Story.

di. Charles Louis Tarieu de Lanaudiere is the person alluded to by Hadden in the text as *M. Lenodier*. He was descended from one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the Canadian noblesse. His great-grandfather, who originally belonged in Guienne, in France, went to Canada towards the middle of the 17th century as an officer in the Regiment de Carignan, and settled there. His father was a military officer, became aide major of Quebec, and served against the English at the battle before Ticonderoga July 8, 1758, and in the campaign of 1759; receiving as a reward the cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. Charles Louis Tarieu de Lanaudiere, the only child that attained majority, of Charles Francois Xavier Tarieu de Lanaudiere by his first wife, Genevieve Deschamps de Boinebert, was born October 15, 1743. Following in the footsteps of his ancestry he embraced a military life and very early entered the Regiment de la Sarre, in which he was a lieutenant and aide major at the battle of St. Foy, April 28, 1760, where he was severely wounded. When Canada became a British possession Lanaudiere, with his father, passed over into France; but, resigning

his commission in the French army, he returned to Canada in 1763, and became a British subject. He visited Europe more than once, and after the conquest resided sometime in England where he entered the most aristocratic society and spent his money like a lord among the British noblemen, so that his father said,—Should I put my son in one scale and the gold that he has cost me before receiving his portion, in the other, the latter would much outweigh him. He married Elizabeth de Chapt de la Corne, daughter of La Corne St. Luc, at Montreal, April 10, 1769. At the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and her American colonies, he sided with the former, and, on the invasion of Canada, he took an active part in inciting the Canadians to arms and in repelling the invaders. When in November, 1775, it became apparent that Montreal must fall into Montgomery's hands, Lanaudiere, who was one of Gen. Carleton's aids, accompanied his chief on the flight to Quebec; and during the siege of the latter city he was indefatigable in aiding in its defence. His zeal in this behalf is well illustrated by one of his letters to the Canadian captains of militia written January 4th, 1776, in

A report is current in the Army that an old picque between *Brymen* & *Baume* might occasion his tardiness, as he was heard to say "We will let them get warm before we reach them," when he heard the firing : It seems to have been reserved for him to give the last blow, as, to lay the fault wholly on his Shoulders wou'd certainly be unjust when almost every person concerned seems to have had a principal share in the disaster. It is also said & the Gen'l Orders seem to countenance such a report, that, the *Support* grumbling, induced Lt. Col. Brymen to wait unnecessarily for them to Cook their Kettles. Had they arrived in time it is probable the

which he refers to Montgomery's unsuccessful assault in this wise : "We have drubbed the Rebels. We have taken seven hundred killed, wounded and prisoners, and their General, Montgomery. It remains with you to completely drive away our enemies. We fear nothing here, and will soon give you proofs, my dear fellow citizens. Signalize yourselves to retrieve the honour of the Canadians, and to gain every happiness to your Parish. The others will all follow your example. Two hundred men will destroy the remains of these miserable wretches, for you will raise all the other Parishes coming down."

In 1777 M. Lanaudiere accompanied his father in law, La Corne St. Luc, with a mixed band of Indians and Canadians, upon Burgoyne's expedition ; but he seems not to have taken a very prominent part in that campaign, and he returned to Canada before the capitulation was consummated. According to Mr. Le Moine, he accompanied Sir

Guy Carleton to England in 1778, where George III rewarded him handsomely, as he was called to the Legislative Council of Quebec and appointed deputy post master general of Canada. When it was proposed to change the old French tenure of land in Canada, Lanaudiere, as a representative of one of the oldest seignories, took an active part in the discussions attending that reform. He seems by some to have been confounded with his father, and different writers assign different offices to him. Having lived much in England he spoke English fluently, and his relatives called him *the Englishman*, as he possessed the colder, less demonstrative manners than the French, that marked the English gentleman. He died in the Autumn of 1811, leaving one daughter that never married. [L. O. : F. T. 511-544 : A. Y. 229, 299, 305, 306, 414 : D. Q. 40-42, 92-99 : G. Y. Y. 106 : A. G. 170, 171, 172, 176 : H. S. 284 : I. E. 77 : F. 854, 855.]

Enemy wou'd have retired, but being attacked severally the Enemy only fought about half their own numbers and Night preserved the Reinforcement from *Baume's* fate.

Wednesday Aug't 27th Gen'l Burgoyne gave orders against employing the Kings Horses or Carriages without being authorised an Officer disobeying these orders to be Cashiered, a Conductor or Camp Follower to be tried by a Camp Court Martial.

N. B. I forgot to mention that, on or about the 14th August a Bridge made of *Logs* chain'd together was completed by Capt Laws (Capt of Artificers), *dj* and the advanced Corps passed over

dj. George Law, or Lawes, entered the British army Nov. 22, 1756, as a 2d lieut. in the 61st Foot, which, in 1759, formed part of the expedition against the French West India Islands. Dec. 13th, in that year, he was promoted to be 1st lieut. in the 76th Foot, which served in the expedition against Belleisle, on the coast of France, in 1761, and against Martinico in 1762, when he obtained a company. He was afterwards stationed in one of the Leeward Islands until the peace of 1763, when his regiment was disbanded and he went upon half-pay, where he remained for about five years, his name appearing for the last time on the half pay of the 76th, in 1768.¹

He probably emigrated to Canada prior to the American Revolution, as in a letter from Gen. Carleton to Gen. Howe dated at Quebec, Jan. 12, 1776, the writer, in speaking of Arnold's attack on that part of the lower town called the

Saut au Matelot, in Montgomery's assault on Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775, says,— "A sally from the upper town, under Capt. Laws, attacked their rear, and sent in many prisoners."² It should be borne in mind that during the American invasion of Canada, Gen. Carleton was in such sore straits for troops he pressed every one capable of bearing arms into the service; hence an old retired officer, under such circumstances, would loom into prominence. We likewise find other mention of Capt. Lawes about this time. The following extract from "A journal of the Principal Occurrences during the siege of Quebec by the American Revolutionists," edited by W. T. Shortt of H. B. M. 17th Foot, gives us quite a glimpse of the character of this officer. The Journal speaks of the officer making the sortie ordered by Gen. Carleton to issue from the Palace Gate during the siege, as "Capt. Lawes of the Royal Engineers;" but there was no officer of

it across the Hudsons River to Saratoga; The swells of the River occasioned by the heavy Rains on the 15th made it break in the middle ye 17th, and Aug't 18th, the Advanced Corps recrossed to Batten Kill, the Germans fell back to Fort Edward and the communications with Fort George and Skeensborough were kept up as before the whole were prepared to move forward previous to ye Bennington business.

that name in the Royal Engineers at or about that time, nor did Capt. George Lawes ever belong to that corps: the officer referred to, however, is unquestionably the subject of this sketch. "How we were conquerors at a juncture when we imagined all lost," says the journalist, "and at a time when we so little expected it, you will now be informed, viz:—The governor being apprised by repeated messengers, some voluntary, while others were ordered to carry him intelligence to the castle, in rotation of duty, how likely the lower town was to fall into the hands of the enemy, they having forced our outpost, and nearly gained our last barrier, he, in consequence of this, with the greatest coolness, ordered an immediate sortie to be made from Palace Gate to outflank them, conducted by Captain Lawes of the Royal Engineers, which party was covered by a Captain McDougal of the Royal Emigrants, and this body had no sooner gained the bottom of the hill than they fell in with the rearguard of the enemy, who were so much confounded at so unexpected an attack, that they immediately threw down their arms, and submitted themselves prisoners without firing a shot. Capt. Lawes kept boldly advancing (leaving McDougal to dispose of the enemy who had fallen into his hands, as was thought proper) and soon

gained the outpost at Saut au Matelot, which he entered without opposition, none of his party having as yet come up, and rushed into the midst of the rebels crying out, with the greatest *sang froid*, 'You are all my prisoners.' If the rear party which consisted of upwards of 300, were astonished at being made prisoners so unexpectedly, you may well conceive the surprise of those who had made themselves masters of our post at being addressed in such language. 'How,' said they, 'your prisoners! you are ours.' 'No, no, my dear creatures,' replied he, 'I vow to God you are all mine, don't mistake yourselves.' 'But where are your men?' 'O, ho!' says he, 'make yourselves easy about that matter, they are all about here, and will be with you in a twinkling.' Conversation to that purpose, for near ten minutes, was carried on, during which period a proposal was made to kill him, which was overruled; in the interim his party arrived, made themselves masters of the post, and placing the enemy between two fires, secured it, with the assistance of Capt. McDougal. Thus the whole body of the enemy which had taken possession of the Saut au Matelot were made prisoners. In this manner we within the town were released from impending ruin through this unexpected manœuvre of the general, by which means their

Thursday 28th—Aug't 29th The following regulations respecting Servants &c were given in publick Orders (viz)

	Servants	Battmen
Field Officers	1	2
Captains	1	1
Sub'ns of a Company (2)	2	1

When the Men's Tents are carried upon Batt-horses a Batt-Man to be allowed each Company, the Batt-men to be always armed and to form the Baggage Guard.

Aug't 30th—Gen'l Burgoyne order'd a publick Sale of the Horses brought in by the Inhabitants

whole party was either killed, wounded or taken prisoners; among the former were three officers and fifty privates; forty were wounded." For his brave conduct in the defence of Quebec, Capt. Lawes received the royal approbation.³

He probably joined a provincial corps in 1776, as he was appointed an assistant engineer Sept. 24th, in that year; and in 1777, he was commissioned as a captain in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants, afterwards the 84th Foot, his commission bearing date June 21st.¹ He certainly stood high, in Sir Guy Carleton's opinion, as shown by a letter from one of his staff to Major Kingston, then deputy-adjutant-general with Burgoyne, which is as follows:

"QUEBEC, 17th August, 1777.

"The general has lately given a company in 'the Emigrants to Capt. Lieut. Law serving with your army, and if his activity should be so much taken notice of by General Burgoyne (as I make no doubt it will) as it was by General Carleton, and he should be inclined to reward him further by removing him into an

old corps, I know Sir Guy Carleton if it should be referred to him, would gladly concur with Gen'l Burgoyne."⁴

When Capt. Lawes went on Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, and served as a captain of artificers, he was only a provincial officer, as the Emigrants, afterwards the 84th, had not then been put upon the regular establishment. He returned to Canada after Burgoyne's disaster, and was appointed Barrack-Master of Montreal and Fort Chambly Nov. 20th, 1777.⁵ He is mentioned in the *Memoirs of Pierre du Calvet*, whom he arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices in 1780.⁶ His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1782, and he is supposed to have died in the latter part of that year, as Lieut. Laughlan Maclean was gazetted captain of a company in the 84th, vice George Lawes," Jan. 3d, 1783,⁷ and Capt. Maclean's commission was dated Oct. 17th, 1782.¹ [¹B. H. ²F. 656. ³F. B. 188. ⁴F. B. 671. ⁵F. E. 88 ⁶B. M. 76. ⁷H. Q. 25.]

every day, and forbid any being bought privately as it would prevent a general supply.

Sept. 2nd General Burgoyne order'd a Corps of Marksmen to be formed, consisting of 1 Non-commission'd Officer & 16 Men from each of the *Five* British Regiments: they are to be *robust, sober*, and Men of good characters. Capt Frazer is to command them and they are to act with the Savages.

Sept. 3rd The Park of Artillery ^{dk} came up from Fort George and encamped about 2 Miles in our Rear. The additional Companies of the different Regiments joined us from Canada these were about 300 Men. An attempt was made to bring one of the Canadian built Gun Boats from Lake George, but failed of success, the Road being in many places *Hilly & Rocky*. A number of Batteaux's were brought from *Fort Anne* to Fort Edward & there launched into the Hudsons River, they were afterwards taken out

^{dk} The Park of Artillery was a place selected by the general of an army to form the grand depot of guns, ammunition and stores, to be in readiness as occasion might require. Attached to the park there were generally as many officers and men of the Royal Artillery as were sufficient to man the reserve guns in the park, and to replace casualties that might happen in the detached guns and brigades. If a siege was to be undertaken the number of officers and artillery men in the park had of course to be augmented.

The reserve officers, drivers, and horses, the principal commissary with his assistants, and the several necessary artificers were also stationed there. To the park all the brigades and field pieces detached with the army, looked for their resources; and when anything was requisite, the park was the place whence all supplies were forwarded. The reserve ammunition for the troops was also deposited at the park of artillery, and supplied upon requisition under the orders of the commanding officer of artillery. [G. N.]

near Fort Miller on account of some shallows and carried 2 or 300 yards on Rollers pushed by Fatigue Parties were again put into the River.

Sept. 5th The additional Companies were order'd to fire Ball and attend drill 4 Hours a day. The Regiments to collect convalescents and settle their Regimental arrangements so that the Ranks may be as strong as possible the next march of the Army.

Sept. 6th. Gen'l Orders.

"Ten Men from the Provincials to be employed as Storekeepers and orderly Men to the General Hospital, the Surgeons of Reg'ts to send to the Gen'l Hospital a return of the number of Sick they will be obliged to leave on the Army's moving. A Surgeon of the Hospital will review the Sick upon these Returns, in order to know their exact state, and what time they will again be fit for Service. A noncommiss'd officer to attend the reception of the Sick in the Gen'l Hospital, who is to deliver to the Clerk of the Hospital their Arms, accoutrements & necessaries for which he is to receive a receipt from the Clerk, who will preserve a list in his Orderly Book. Lt. England^{dl} of the 47th Reg't is ap-

^{dl}. Poole England received three commissions in the British army, all in the 47th Foot, and dated as follows, viz: ensign Nov. 6, 1769; lieutenant April 16, 1773; and captain May 17, 1782.¹

He was with his regiment in America at the breaking out of the Revolution, and was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill.² He crossed Lake Champlain with Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, and

pointed to act as Fort Major at Tyconderoga. The Ammunition to be immediately completed to the original order of 100 Rounds pr. Man.

Sept. 7th: G. Orders. All Prisoners, except the Military, in the Provost Guard to be brought before the Board of Commissioners ^{dm} tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, all witnesses to attend.

[Two pages left blank here in Lt. Hadden's Journal.]

Sept. 8th: G. Orders. "A Gen'l Court Martial to sit tomorrow. The Army to receive Provisions to the 13th Inst. A working Party of 50 Men to parade tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock to repair the Roads between this and Fort Edward.

Sept. 9th—The Gen'l Orders. The Commis-saries to preserve the Salt in the provision Barrels. The whole to march from hence tomorrow morning. The General to beat at 8 o'clock, the Assembly at Nine. The Regiments to march by their Right, the Germans to furnish rear Guards. The Baggage and Batt-Horses to follow the Line. One Serjeant and Twelve Men to be furnished for a Guard to the Pay Master

was appointed to act as Fort Major at Tyconderoga Sept. 6, 1777.¹ Where Lieut. England was captured has not been ascertained, but he was a prisoner on his parole at Montreal Oct. 29, 1777, at which time negotiations for his exchange were in progress.² His name

appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1783. [¹B. H. ²M. E. 47. ³E. Z. ⁴D. R.]

^{dm} Inhabitants who had joined us, of which Col. Skeene was president. [*Hadden's Note*]

General, a Serj't and twelve Men for the Hospital, who are also to give every assistance in the removal of the Sick and Wounded. The Gen'l Court Martial is dissolved."

Brigade Orders by B. G'l Hamilton.

"The Quarter Masters and Camp Coulour Men ^{dn} to march at 7 o'clock." This movement was deferr'd.

Sept. 10th. Gen'l Orders. The Regiments will march tomorrow in the same order as directed yesterday, the Gen'l will beat tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock and the Assembly at Nine.

Sept. 11th The Right Wing moved forward 3 Miles, and took post near the *Cranes*, to which place the Park of Artillery had been advanced some days: Here also about 5 Weeks Provisions for the Army was collected, having been forwarded from *Quebec* upwards of four hundred Miles by Land or water. The *Batteaux's* in which it is to be floated down the River were brought the like distance.

The Left or German Wing extended in our Rear as far as Duers House; The Advanced

ds. Camp-Colours were a small sort of colours placed on the right and left of the parade of the regiment when in the field; they were eighteen inches square, and of the colour of the facing of the regiment, with the number of the regiment upon them. The poles were 7 feet 6 inches long, except those of the quarter and rear guards, which were 9 feet.

Camp-Colour-men were men who carried the camp-colours. Each regiment had generally six, and sometimes one to each company: they always marched with the quarter-master, to assist in making the necessary preparations against the arrival of the regiment in a new encampment. [G. N.]

Corps remained in their post at Batten-Kill. Gen'l Orders. "The Army will be ready to move forward tomorrow morning ——. "A fatigue party of 50 British and 50 Germans to parade at 4 o'clock to load Batteauxs. They will take directions from Cap't Schanks^{do} (of the Navy) and work 'till 9 o'clock.

Saturday Sept. 13th: The Advanced Corps and Right Wing of the Army, with all the Artillery cross'd the Hudsons River on a Bridge of Batteauxs near Batten Kill, and encamped at Saragotoga: we began our march at 2 in ye afternoon. The left wing remained on opposite side of the River, occupying Gen'l Frazer's old post near Batten Kill.

Gen'l Orders. "The Army may be required to take Arms at the shortest notice, Officers therefore are not to quit Camp. No Soldier nor follower of the Army is to pass the Fish Kill under pain of the severest punishment. The present post of the Six Companies^{dp} of the 47th Reg't being destin'd to cover the Depot of Provisions, those Companies are not to take any duties in the Line, but will augment their own Picquet to 40 *Men*, which during the Night will occupy a Post upon the Island, and upon the point of Land on the South side of the Fish Kill where

^{dp.} The rest were left at Fort George and Diamond Island in Lake George.
[Hadden's Note.]

^{do.} See Appendix 18

it falls into the main River. The 20th Reg't will advance *four Companies* to cover Head Quarters (in Schuylers House), they will bring their Tents and take their orders from Lt. Francis Clark. *dq* The Picquets and Quarter Guards of the Line are

dq. Sir Francis Carr Clerke was a great-great-grandson of Sir John Clerke, first baronet, of Hitcham, in Buckinghamshire, the baronetcy having been created July 13, 1660. Sir Francis was descended from a younger son, and, upon the extinction of the elder lines, succeeded to the title Feb. 12, 1769, as seventh baronet. He was born Oct. 24, 1748, in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, London, and was the eldest son of Francis Clerke by his wife, Susannah Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Henry Ashurst, Esq. of Watstock, in Oxfordshire.¹ He entered the British military service as an ensign in the Third Foot Guards Jan. 3, 1770; and was promoted to a lieutenancy, July 26, 1775, which, owing to the double rank of the Guards, gave him the army rank of captain. He became the adjutant of his regiment Feb. 3, 1776²; and that same year accompanied Gen Burgoyne to America as an aid-de-camp, returning to England with him in November. In 1777, when Burgoyne embarked for America to take command of his famous expedition, Sir Francis again accompanied him as private secretary and aid-de-camp.³ As a member of the military family of the commander in chief he bore an active part throughout the campaign; in the last decisive action of which, on the 7th of October, he received a fatal wound.

Burgoyne's adjutant-general, Lt.-Col. Kingston, testified before the House of Commons, as follows:—

"What was the last time you saw Sir Francis Clark in that action, and do you know what orders he was carrying?"

"It was after the retreat was become very general. Sir Francis Clarke asked me, if I had given any orders to the artillery to retreat? I told him, that as there was a major-general of the artillery in the field, who was confessed by the army to be a very excellent officer, I would not take on myself, as adjutant-general, to give orders to any part of the artillery. Sir Francis Clarke told me, that a disposition had been made for a general retreat, and that he was going with orders from General Burgoyne to bring off the artillery. About the instant we were parting, a very heavy fire upon us from the enemy, and I have since had reason to believe, that Sir Francis Clarke received his wound at that time."⁴

Gen. Wilkinson gives the following circumstances of Sir Francis's last moments:—

"When I returned to head-quarters from the field of battle, I found Sir Francis Clark reposing on General Gates's bed, and those gentlemen engaged in a warm dispute, on the merits of the revolution, Sir Francis admitting that every procedure on our part, short of the declaration of independence, was warranted by the conduct of the British administration; that he had on this ground vindicated us in public and private, but that the sudden act of severance, convinced him that the contest had originated in a premeditated view to independence, into which the colonies had been cheated by the puritans of New England; and that he, of consequence, had changed his opinion, and taken part against us. On the other hand, Gates

to be posted upon the Right Flank of the encampment so as to form a Front in the same line of direction with the British Light Infantry : Should it be necessary to form a line of Battle to that Front, the Regiments of the Line will march to it by Two columns, the 9th Regiment

contended, that the idea of disunion had never entered into the head of any American, until the menaces of the parliament, the repeated oppressive acts of the British government, and the manifest vindictive resentment of the sovereign, left the colonists no alternative between abject vassalage and self government.

"The old General became quite incensed, and calling me out of the room, asked me if I had ever heard so impudent a son of a b—h. Sir Francis, who was I think a member of parliament, appeared to be an impetuous, high minded, frank, fearless fellow, for suddenly changing the conversation he inquired of me, 'whether our surgeons were good for anything, as he did not like the direction of his wound, and was desirous to know whether it was mortal or not.' The following extract of a letter from Dr. Hayes to General Burgoyne, dated the 9th October, describes Sir Francis's particular case. 'I have seen Sir Francis Clark, and am sorry to inform you that I form some unfavourable opinion of his case. The ball entered his right flank, struck the two last of the *false ribs*, penetrated the cavity of the abdomen, and seems to run towards the spine ; a tension of his belly, and involuntary discharges of urine are bad symptoms. He has been attended with great care and tenderness ; I stay by him this night and shall not omit any attention for his recovery. Sir Francis died I think the 13th, and the day before, questioned Doctor Townsend who attended him, as to the probable issue of the wound, the Doctor felt a reluctance in announcing his doom, he

observed it, and remarked 'Doctor why do you pause? do you think I am afraid to die?' The Doctor then advised him as an act of prudence, to arrange his private affairs ; 'thank you Doctor,' replied he, 'I understand you, as to my private affairs, my father settled them for me, and I have only a few legacies to bequeath,' among them he gave twenty guineas to the matron of our hospital, who had paid particular attention to him."⁵

Wilkinson was mistaken in supposing that Sir Francis then was, or ever had been a member of parliament.

Sir Francis was a very promising officer. Lt.-Col. Kingston said—"I never saw an officer more attentive to the duties of his station than Sir Francis Clarke;" and Burgoyne bore this testimony to the merit of the deceased officer—"Sir Francis Clarke, my aide-camp, had originally recommended himself to my attention by his talents and diligence : as service and intimacy opened his character more, he became endeared to me by every quality that can create esteem. I lost in him an useful assistant, an amiable companion, an attached friend : the state was deprived by his death, of one of the fairest promises of an able general."⁷

Sir Francis was never married, and at his death his brother succeeded to the baronetcy. His remains were carried to England in 1777, and deposited in the church at Albany.¹ [²B. R. I. X. App. 196. ³B. H. ⁴H. G. 286, 338 : K. 1134 : J. H. I. ⁵B. N. 81. ⁶M. T. 269 note. ⁷B. N. 75. ⁸B. N. 125.]

followed by the 21st making the Column of the Right, and the 62nd followed by the 20th making the column of the left, in order to fill up the space between the Corps of Gen'l Frazer and Col. Brymen. Brig. Gen'l Hamilton will order the proper communications for this movement, and mark it in such manner to the commanding officers, that it may be made in the night time and free from confusion.

When Major Gen'l Phillips shall have directed the Roads proper to be taken for the part the Artillery is to bear in this movement, they are also to be reconnoitred by the respective Officers, that their march may not clash with the columns. If this movement is made the 47th Reg't keeps its ground, and is to defend it to the last against any attack from the other side of the Water; and the four Companies are to take post in the Redout above the Bridge that leads to Head Quarters. In case of any movement on this side the Hudson's River Maj'r Gen'l Reidesil will form the left wing of the Army at the head of their encampment, but not march off the ground. The Quarter Masters and Camp Coulour Men of the left Wing will mark out their ground tomorrow morning, but that Wing is not to pass the River 'till the last of the Depot shall have passed the Bridge; for the expediting of which purpose all the Departments concerned are to use their utmost diligence.

Sunday Sept. 14th. Gen'l Ord'rs "Enormous mismanagement has been committed in respect to the Kings Carts which have been allowed for the carriage of Camp Equipage only. Upon the next March the commanding officers of Corps are to be responsible that the Reg'l Q'r Master, or in his absence some other Officer deputed to act for him, inspect the loading of the Carts and suffer no Article beyond the extent of the Order to be put thereon. A Field officer for each Wing is to review the Carts as they pass off, and in case he finds any overloaded he is to direct the improper articles to be thrown off, and left upon the ground, and afterwards report the Regiment to which they belong. Any soldier or other person detected in ill treating any Drivers or Horses may expect to be severely punished. During the next marches of the Army the Corps are to move in such a state as to be fit for instant action, it therefore becomes unavoidably necessary to circumscribe more than at present, Regimental convenience in regard to the attendance upon Baggage, Cattle, & other inferior purposes.

"The Brig. Gen'ls will collect this Evening from ye Commanding Officers of Corps under their command, a Report of the number of Rank & File each Corps can march tomorrow in the Ranks, and account how the absent men are disposed of.

It is to be a standing order for the rest of the Campaign, that all Picquets, and Guards are under Arms an hour before daylight every morning and remain so 'till it is compleatly light. All out Posts and Picquets are to send out patrols at this time. The Army will be in readiness to march tomorrow."

Brig'e Orders. "For the future a line of Pickets is to be made in the Rear of each Regiment at which the Horses are to be tied, and none suffer'd to go loose, the Carts are also to be arranged there."

Monday Sept. 15th: Gen'l Orders. The Tents to be struck at 12 o'clock and Baggage loaded immediately. The Army to march in three Columns after having passed Schuylers House. The Right Column consisting of the British on the *Right* of the Road—The left column consisting of the left Wing along the Meadows on the *left* of the Road. The Artillery forming the *centre* Column, followed by the Baggage. The two Brigades of Artillery of the Line to lead. Lt. Col Brymens Corps to form the Rear Guard of the Army and wait upon their Ground till they receive an order from an Aid de Camp of the Command'r in Chief, or from Maj'r Gen'l Reidesil. The Provisions are to be floated down under the care of Cap't Brown of the Navy. "The 47th Reg't to move with the Rear of the

Provisions. The Hospital to move as quick as Carts can be provided for them. The Bridge to be broke up and floated down immediately after the Army is marched under the direction of Capt Shanks (of the Navy)."

Yesterday Gen'l Phillips called the Officers of Artillery together and exhorted them to be cautious of expending their Ammunition in case of an Action, reminding them of the impossibility of a fresh supply and requesting they wou'd recollect that one Action wou'd not probably decide the Campaign, he therefore begg'd they wou'd avoid firing on a retreating Enemy unless almost certain of great success. He observed that, tho. they were under the command of every Senior Officer, yet, even to Commanding officers of the Battalion's they were serving with, they must remonstrate against firing when required if contrary to their own opinions, and make him responsible for the consequences of their compliance if he persists. This line of conduct was to be pursued to all persons except the immediate bearers of official orders from the Com'r in Chief, M. G. Phillips, or the Brig. Gen'l Commanding the Brigade of Infantry to which the Guns were attached at the time. Orders from the Com'g Officers of the Brigade, or Corps of Artillery, of course were to be obeyed, these being in fact the orders of the Brig'r Gen'l Com'g the Brigade, as

his consent is absolutely necessary for all movements after the Guns are attached to his Brigade.

Sept. 15th (continued) Agreeable to this day's Orders, the Army marched and the Bridge was broken up. We halted and encamped in one Line at a Farm called *Dovegot*, nearly 3 Miles from our former ground.

Dovegot. Tuesday Sept. 16th. Gen'l Orders.

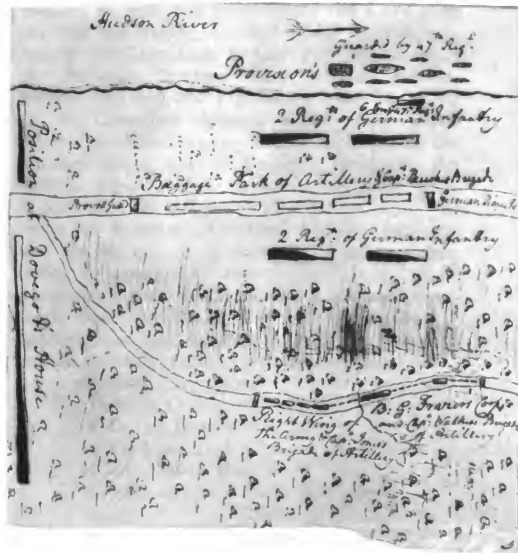
"No Forragers are at anytime to go out in small parties, nor till the Fog is cleared up. When forage is wanted the Brigadier Generals will send a report to the General of the numbers proposed and the time they are meant to be absent from the Camp, that a judgement may be formed whether the numbers can be spared for that time. The Foragers when out are to keep together, and upon the firing of Three Guns are to return to Camp with all possible expedition. The Carts that are lent to the Regiments for carrying the Regimental Baggage, are to be returned to the orders of the Deputy Q'r M'r General, as soon as they arrive in Camp, except at such times as the march of the Army is likely to be continued in a few hours. The Army marches tomorrow, the disposition of march will be given to the leaders of Columns early in the morning."

This day about 1 o'clock, a Detachment of about 2,000 Men, with Capt. Jones Brigade of Artillery (4—6 P'rs) advanced about 2 Miles, to reconnoitre a Road to the Right, and cover the workmen repairing some broken Bridges and other bad places in the main Road. The Generals Burgoyne, Phillips & Frazer were out, we returned in the afternoon about 5 o'clock, nothing extraordinary hav'g happen'd.

Wednesday Sept. 17th. The Army marched to Sword's Farm ($3\frac{1}{2}$ Miles). The order of March was *Frazer's Corps* and the *Right Wing* with their Artillery & Baggage upon the heights to the Right of the main Road, (as reconnoitred yesterday) forming the *Right Column*. The Park of Artillery & Baggage of the Army on the main Road formed the *Centre Column*: and part of ye *Left Wing* moved on their left, being the *left Column*. The Provisions were floated down the River under the 47th Reg't.

The Army now consisted of the follow'g Corps—(viz)—The 9th 20th, 21st, 24th and 62nd Regiments: 6 Companies of the 47th Reg't, 10 Companies of Grenadiers & 10 of Lt. Infantry, 300 Artillery Men, 150 Additional, Recruits for the Southern Army, and about 50 Marksmen, under Capt. Frazier, British.

The Regiments of *Rhetz*, *Specht*, *Reidesil* (Infantry) and *Hesse Hanau*, Lt. Col. Brymen's Corps of Grenadiers & Chasseurs & about 40 Jagers, German.



The whole forming a Corps of about 6,000 Men. We had about 50 Savages (all that remained of near 500 who crossed the Lake with us, the rest having deserted under various pretences till Msr. *Luke Le Corn's* departure, when the defection became almost general) and between One and 200 Provincials exclusive of 70 or 80 Canadians bearing arms under Capts. Monin & Boucherville—including these & the residue (about 40) of Reidesils Dragoons, the whole might amount to something more than 6,000 Men & Officers. The Sailors employed with the Batteauxs, Canadian Drivers, Artificers &c not bearing Arms or included in the above, were I apprehend, about 300. It is to be recollected that the Artillery, Additional Gunners, Sick, Servants & Batt-Men are to be extracted from the number bearing arms, which wou'd probably reduce it to nearly 5,000 Effectives including the officers.

The Guns & Ordnance were

2 Lt. 24 Pounders.	} Brass
4 Medium 12 P'rs	
18—Light—6 P'rs	
2—Howitzers 8 Inch	
4— “ —5½ In'ch	
6—Light—3 Pounders	
1—Light—12 Pounder	

Total 35 on Travelling Carriages *dr*

dr. The addition is a little defective, as Hadden gives it.
as the figures foot up 37, instead of 35

Also—2 Mortars—8 Inch }
 and—4 “ —5½ } Brass

They were disposed of as follows, (viz)

With B. G. Frazer under Capt. *Walker* ^{ds}

4—6 Pounders— } Served by his Company and
 4—3 Pounders— } 40 additional from ye
 2—5½ Howitzers— } Adv'd Corps.

Each Piece of Ordnance had an Am'n Cart—
 and he was allowed 2 Country Carts for the
 Mens Tents, Artificers Tools &c.

A Forge Cart travelled with this Brigade, as
 also 1 Collar Maker, 1 Smith & 1 Wheeler for
 the use of this and the Brigades of Jones &
 Pauch.

Capt. Jones's Brigade Attached to the Right
 Wing—

ds. Ellis Walker entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, March 1, 1755. He was commissioned in the Royal Artillery as a lieut.-fireworker Oct. 29, in that year; a 2d lieut. April 2, 1757; a 1st lieut. Jan. 1, 1759; and a capt.-lieutenant Aug. 5, 1761; in which latter year he took part in the siege of Belleisle on the coast of France. He became a captain Jan 1, 1771, his being No. 7 company, 3d Battalion, now “3” Battery, 7th Brigade. He belonged to the artillery detachment that served in Canada, in 1776, and he participated in Burgoyne's campaign the next year, having command of the guns attached to Gen. Fraser's Light Brigade. He

was included in the Saratoga Convention, and his name is attached to the Cambridge Parole. His subsequent promotions were as follows; major in the army June 7, 1782; lieut.-colonel in the artillery Dec. 1, 1782; colonel in the army Oct. 12, 1793; in the artillery Nov. 1, of the same year; major-general Feb. 26, 1795; colonel-commandant in the artillery Sept. 25, 1796, his successor being appointed July 13, 1799; lieut.-general April 29, 1802; and general Jan. 1, 1812. He appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1820, at which date there was only one officer in the artillery that ranked him. [G. U: B. H: C. Z. 224, 229; E. Z.]

4 Lt. 6 Pounders

5 Ammunition Carts

4 Country Carts laden with Intrenching Tools & spare Harness, and 2 ditto for the Camp Equipage. These were commanded and served by

	Capt.	Sub.	N. C. off'rs	Men	Drum'r
of Jones's Company	1	1		27	1
Lt. Hadden's Detachment		1	3	26	
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1	2	3	53	1

Capt. Pauche's Brigade.

Left Wing.

6—6 Pounders

2—3 Pounders—an Ammunition Cart for each Gun—4 Country Carts laden with Intrenching Tools—2 ditto for Camp Equipage, and one for each officer, these Gent'n not being allowed Artillery B & F.^{dt}

This Brigade had already lost 2—6 and 2—3 Pounders with *Baume* & *Brymen* at or near *Bennington*, its deficiencies were supplied from across *Lake George*.

Park of Artillery under Capt. Carter.

Divided into three Brigades (viz)

dt. An abbreviation for Bat and Forage, meaning bat and forage money.

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Left Brigade. Capt. Hosmer ^{du}	Centre Brigade. Capt. Blomfield	Right Brigade. Capt. Mitchelson
2—Med'm 12 P's	2 Lt. 24 Pounders	2 Med. 12 Pounders
2—Lt.—6 P's	1 Am'n Waggon	2 Lt. 6 P's
1—8 In. How'r.	The whole of these were served by Maj'r Williams's ^{du} & Capt. Carters Companies & about 130 Additional's under Lt. Nutt 33rd Regt. 2 Eng'h Waggon's for Camp Equipage—	1—8 In. How'r's
1—5½ ditto		1—5½ ditto.
English Waggon's		Waggon's.
for M. 12 P's 2		2 for M. 12 P's
for 8 In. How'r. 2		2 for 8 In. How'r
Am'n Cart's		Ammunition Cart's
for Lt. 6 P's 2		2 for Lt. 6 P's
for 5½ How'r's 1		1 for 5½ How'r's

Also with the Park—2 Waggon's loaded with
Intrenching Tools: 2 Waggon's loaded with

du. Thomas Hosmer, entered the Royal Artillery as a lieut.-fireworker June 8, 1767; and was promoted to be a 2d lieut. Oct. 23, 1761; a 1st lieut. Dec. 20, 1765; and a capt.-lieutenant June 17, 1772. He served in the 2d Battalion until he became a 1st lieut. when he was transferred to the 3d Battalion; and upon his promotion to a captain-lieutenancy he was transferred again, this time to the 1st Battalion. He was with the artillery detachment that served in Canada in 1776, and under Burgoyne in 1777. In this latter campaign he commanded the left brigade of the Park of Artillery, and served actively until Burgoyne's surrender, in which he was included, his name being attached to the Cambridge Parole. He obtained a captaincy Nov. 12, 1779, and for sometime commanded No. 2 Company, 1st Battalion, now "B" Battery, 1st Brigade, and afterwards No. 4 Company, 1st Battalion, now "3" Battery, 5th Brigade. He became a major in the army March 19, 1783; was invalided for home duty March 16, 1793; became a lieut.-colonel in the army March 1, 1794; and was attached to the Invalid Battalion Oct. 2, 1795. He died at Greenwich April 8, 1805. [G. U: C. Z. 173, 174; B. H: E. Z.]

du. Griffith Williams entered the British military service as a private in the Royal Artillery Jan. 27, 1743, and on the 4th of April of the following year he became a gentleman cadet in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. The following extract from a manuscript by this officer, deposited, in the Royal Artillery Regimental Library, furnishes some interesting information in regard to the Royal Military Academy in 1744, when he belonged to it. "In 1744," he wrote, "His Grace the late John, Duke of Montague, was Master-General of the Ordnance, to him the chief Master of the Academy reported the first of every month what progress the Cadets, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Private men, who were his Pupils, made, and in what manner they distinguished themselves most; the names of the Officers who attended was likewise carried to his Grace by the chief Master. At this time the Regiment of Artillery consisted of seven Companies only, and five Cadets to each Company; they were distinguished by Cadet Gunners, and Cadet Mattrosses; the Cadet Gunners (of which I was one) had Sixteen Pence per day, and the Cadet Mattrosses Twelve Pence per day; the Cadet Gunners, when the Companies were formed, took the right of the

spare Harness : 8 Country Carts laden with Artificers Tools & Camp Equipage—2 Country

Gunners ; and the Cadet Mattrasses the right of the Mattrasses ; they were mustered in the Companies to which they belonged, and the Captain of the Company had the sole command of them, in like manner with every other part of his Company ; they were treated as Officers and Gentlemen by all Officers of the Regiment, who frequently had them to dine with them, when their spare hours from their studies permitted ; the Cadets lodged and boarded at the most creditable houses in and near Woolwich, which many of them were able to do on their pay ; Government was at no other expense, except the Uniforms that were given the Cadets, without any stoppages being made out of their pay."²

Williams was commissioned a lieutenant April 6, 1745, a 1st lieutenant March 1, 1755, a capt.-lieut., Jan. 1, 1759, and a captain Feb. 12, 1763.¹ A portion of the time while a captain he commanded No. 5 Company, 1st Battalion, now "4" Battery, 13th Brigade. After the peace of 1763 he was stationed in America.³ He became a major in the army Feb. 17, 1776,⁴ and he was, after Gen. Phillips, the ranking artillery officer serving in Canada under Carleton in 1776, and on Burgoyne's expedition in 1777 ; and, as such, he had the immediate command of the whole artillery detachment, though he was more particularly attached to the Park.⁴

Gen Phillips reported to Lords Townsend and Amherst from Albany, Oct. 22, 1777, as follows, "In the affair of October 7th, Major Williams kept a battery in action, until the Artillery horses were all destroyed, and his men either killed or wounded ; being unable to get off their guns, he was surrounded and taken, with two officers, Lieutenants York and Howorth, the latter wounded."⁵ Gen. Gates wrote from Saratoga to Gen. Bur-

goyne in a letter dated Oct. 11, 1777, as follows : "At the solicitation of Major Williams, I am prevailed on to offer him and Major Meibon, in exchange for Col. Erhan Allen. Your Excellency's objections to my last proposals for the exchange of Col. Allen, I must consider as trifling, as I cannot but suppose that the Generals of the royal armies act in equal concert with those of the Generals of the armies of the United States."⁶ This offer was rejected. Major d'Meibon, of the Brunswickers, was exchanged Sept. 3d, 1781,⁷ but the date of Major Williams' exchange has not been ascertained. The following letter, written by this officer to Gen. Gates, gives a little insight into his character, and some of his troubles.

"25 Oct'r, 1777.

"MY DEAR GENERAL : I am much concern'd at being informed by Gen'l Phillips that from what was at that time look'd upon at Gen'l Burgoyne's Table to be no otherwise meant than to promote mirth and Laughter should at this time be represented to you as serious. Gen'l Burgoyne was present the whole time therefore I could not have presum'd to have meant to say anything that should give offence ; nor did I perceive that the Capt'n (whose name I do not remember) the least displeas'd but rather joynd in the laugh. I remember saying to the Capt'n that this was an odd world we liv'd in that we were there the best of friends drink'g our wine and the day before trying to put one another to death ; the Capt'n said very true and that if he had met me he would have kill'd me if he could : this brought on a laugh all in good humour.

"I press'd the Capt'n to drink a Glass of wine which he declin'd by saying that he was feverish. I say'd that my way was always to keep the blood above fever heat ; and to heat it so much as to pre-

Carts for the Conductors,^{dw} and several Waggon laden with Laboratory Stores, Musquet Cartridges, Corn Powder^{dx}, Ball, Twine, Paper &c for making up Cartridges—Grease &c—and all the small articles necessary for the Train or Army, in about 10 or 12 Waggon.

There was a Lt. 12 P'r, 2—8 Inch and 4—5½ Inch, with several Coehorn Mortars on board a Skow with the Provisions, and likewise a supply of dead Shells^{dy}.

vent Bug, Flee or musketo to touch me without burning their feet, in short Sir the whole as far as I can remember amounted to something of this kind.

"After the Civility I met with from you and your Officers I am bound as a man of honor to declare that I did not intend to give the least offence to the Capt. and much shall I be distressed should you have a doubt of the truth of what I have said.

"I have the honor to be, my Dear Gen'l

"Your most obedient humble Servant

"GTH WILLIAMS, Major.

"Albany 25th Octob'r, 1777.

"MAJOR GEN'L GATES."⁸

Williams became a major in the artillery March 21, 1780, lieutenant-colonel Jan. 9, 1782, and colonel of the 2d Battalion Dec. 1, 1782.⁷ During the latter part of the great siege of Gibraltar Col. Williams had command of the artillery there.⁹ Col. Williams was the commanding officer of the garrison at Woolwich, the headquarters of the Royal Art'y, Oct. 20, 1783, upon his return from Gibraltar, and so continued until Feb. 8, 1786. He commanded the garrison again July 23, 1789, his successor being appointed three days after

his death. Previous to 1782 the command of the garrison devolved upon the senior officer on the spot, but after that date he was appointed by the Master General of the Ordnance. After forty-seven years of service in the Royal Artillery Col. Williams died at Woolwich, March 18, 1790.¹⁰ [¹ G. U: B. H. * K. R. 5. * C. Z. 175, 244. * E. Z. * C. Z. 315. * K. G. 462. * K. J. 65. * D. R. * C. Z. 288. * G. U: D. Z. 373.]

^{dw}. Conductors were assistants to the commissaries of stores, to conduct depots, or magazines, from one place to another: they also had the care of the ammunition wagons in the field; they reported to the commissary, and were under his command. [G. N.]

^{dx}. Corn powder is supposed to be priming powder, deriving its name from the French word *Corne*, pronounced corn, and signifying horn, as priming powder was frequently carried in powder horns.

^{dy}. Shells, charged or loaded, are called filled or live shells; those, not charged or loaded, are called empty, or, as Hadden terms them, dead shells.

The 6 Pounders were completed to 70 R'ds of Round Shot & 30 R'ds of Case each. The 3 Pounders R'ds of Round—and Rounds of Case—Fixed Ammunition.

[Here follows 2 blank pages in the Journal.]

The Advanced Corps of the Army under B. G. Frazer, was composed of the 20 Comp's of British Grenadiers & Lt. Infantry—The 24th Regiment, and all the small Corps of Provincials, Canadians, Savages, Marksmen &c, With Capt. Walkers Brigade of Guns.

The Right Wing, since the departure of B. G. Powel & the 53rd Regt. was considered as one Brigade under Brigadier Gen'l Hamilton, and consisted of the 9th, 20th, 21st, & 62nd Regim'ts, with Capt. Jones's Brigade of Guns.

The German reserve under Lt. Col. Brymen continued to encamp and march near to Brig'r Frazers Corps, with 2—6 P'rs from Capt. Pauche's Brigade.

The Left Wing consisted of the Brunswick Reg'ts of *Rhetz*, *Specht*, & *Reidesil*, under Brig'r Gen'l *Specht*, and the Regt of *Hesse Hannau* under Brig'r Gen'l *Goll*. The whole commanded by Maj'r Gen'l Reidesil. The remaining few of Reidesils Dragoons were shabbily mounted and attended (occasionally) the General.

The six Companies of the 47th Reg't continued as an escort for the Provisions.

Sept. 17th (continued) The Army being arrived at Swords's Farm encamped *en potence*^{d2}, the left flank being secured by the River.

Thursday Sept. 18th—About 10 o'clock this morning some Soldiers & Women having strolled in front of the Encampment about 4 or 500 yards to gather Potatoes, were fired upon by a Party of the Enemy several were killed or wounded and about 20 made Prisoners, which occasioned the following Gen'l Order—

“To the great reproach of discipline and of the common sense of the Soldiers who have been made Prisoners, the Service has sustained a loss within Ten days, that might have cost the lives of some hundred of the Enemy to have brought upon it in Action.

The General will no longer bear to lose Men for the pitiful consideration of Potatoes or Forrage—The life of the Soldier is the property of the King and since neither friendly admonition, repeated injunctions, nor corporal punishment have effect, after what has happen'd, ye Army is

de. Troops are ranged *en potence* by breaking a straight line, and throwing a certain proportion of it either forward or backward, from the right or left, according to circumstances, for the purpose of securing that line. An army may be posted *en potence* by means of a village, a river, or a wood. The disposition *en potence* is frequently necessary in narrow and intersected ground. [G. N.]

now to be informed, (and it is not doubted the commanding Officers will do it solemnly) that the first Soldier caught beyond the advance Sentries of the Army will be instantly hanged.

If the Army does not march this afternoon, two days more provision will be issued, to victual them to the 21st inclusive.

It is possible that some flour may have received damage from water carriage, in that case care must be taken that a distribution be made equally, that no particular mess may suffer.

The Baggage is to remain loaded as the Army will march as soon as the Bridges are repaired.

In case of an action the Lieut't General will be found near the center of the British line, or, he will leave word there where he may be followed.

In case of an action one Orderly Subaltern Officer is to be sent from each of the following Corps, (viz.) one from the British line, one from Brig'r Gen'l Frazers Corps, and one who speaks French from the left wing — These Officers are to be on Horse-back.

Friday Sep'r 19th—Between 9 & 10 o'clock in the forenoon the Army advanced in three Columns agreeable to former Orders.

About a mile from our last ground (the center column) *we* came to a deep Ravin with a run of

water sufficient to work a Saw-mill in the middle ; here the enemy having neglected to destroy a small Bridge we passed the Ravin and creek without opposition.

The whole of this column and Baggage having gained the opposite height, the army halted at 12 o'clock for near an hour, during which time several shot were fired & returned by our advanced Sentries.

Nearly a quarter of an hour before we resumed our march the Picquets of the British line (100 Rank & File) advanced under Major Forbes *ea*

ea. Gordon Forbes was born in, or about, the year 1738. He entered the British military service Aug. 27, 1756, as an ensign in the 33d Foot, and was promoted Oct. 2, 1757, to a lieutenancy in the 72d Foot, which corps had previously been the 2d Battalion of the 33d. He obtained a captaincy Oct. 17, 1762, and served with the 72d in the Havannah until 1764, when it returned to England and was disbanded; whereupon Capt. Forbes exchanged into the 34th Foot, his commission therein bearing date April 12th in that year. He served with that regiment in Louisiana and other parts of America, and returned to England with it in 1773. In the spring of 1776 Capt. Forbes accompanied his regiment to Canada, and on Nov. 11th of that year was promoted to the majority of the 9th Foot, which was also in Canada. In the following year he participated in Burgoyne's campaign; and July 9th took an active part in the affair near Fort Ann. In the battle of Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19th, he commanded the British pickets and was wounded very early in the day. Speaking of this officer's conduct during

Burgoyne's campaign, Cannon, in his Historical Record of the 9th Regiment, page 32, says—"Major Gordon Forbes behaved with great gallantry and was twice wounded." As we find his name in no casualty list except that of Freeman's Farm, and as he himself says, "after the action of the 19th, I went to the hospital to get my wounds dressed, and did not join the regiment till the 8th of October," he could not have taken part in the action of Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7th; hence he must have received two wounds at Freeman's Farm. He was included in Burgoyne's capitulation, and his name is attached to the Cambridge Parole. He was exchanged, or paroled, in 1778, and sailed for England; but the Eagle packet, on which he, with other British officers, had embarked, was captured Sept. 29th of that year, by the American privateer Vengeance, of 20 guns, and carried into Corunna. Late in 1778 and early in 1779 he aided in raising the 74th Foot, or Argyle's Highlanders—so named because it was raised under the auspices of the Duke of Argyle, and mostly from his clan, and

(9th Regt.) and were repulsed with loss by a corps of Rifle-men commanded by the Rebel Colonel Morgan.

Major Forbes was wounded and the retreat of his Detachment was secured by the Battalion of Light Infantry sent from the column on the Right commanded by Brig'r General Frazer.

The British troops halted & formed 'till the whole of Major Forbes's party came in—and having commenced a fire without orders (by which many of our own people were killed in retreating) Maj'r Kingston proposed the firing a Gun to check it, which had the desired effect and by that accident I fired the first Shot from the main body of this Army.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon the British Regiments arrived opposite to Freemans House

in 1779 he testified before a committee of the House of Commons in regard to Burgoyne's disastrous campaign. He became the lieut. colonel of the newly raised 102d Foot Sept. 24, 1781, and served with it in the East Indies, where he received the local rank of colonel in the East Indies only, June 13, 1782. At the general peace of 1783 the 102d was disbanded, and Col. Forbes went upon half-pay. He became the lieut. colonel of the 74th Foot Oct. 12, 1787, but in the Army List of 1789 he disappears from the regimental list of that organization, and in the list of lieut. colonels in the army he appears as *late* lieut. colonel of that corps. He became a colonel in the army Nov. 18, 1790, and he remained unattached till April 18, 1794, when he was made colonel of

the 105th Foot. Oct. 3d of the same year he became a major general; and he remained colonel of the 105th until it was disbanded in 1796, though he was continued on full pay after that event. Jan. 24, 1797, he was appointed colonel of the 81st, or Loyal Lincoln Volunteers, but his stay with that regiment was short, as he was transferred to the 29th Foot Aug. 8th, 1797; and of that corps he remained colonel for thirty years. Gen. Forbes commanded the troops at St. Domingo for two years. He became a lieut. general Jan. 1, 1801; and a general Jan. 1, 1812. He died at Ham in the county of Middlesex, Jan. 17, 1828, in the 90th year of his age. [B. H. : E. S. 1881 : H. J. 418, 440 : B. N. 63; B. M. 86, note.]

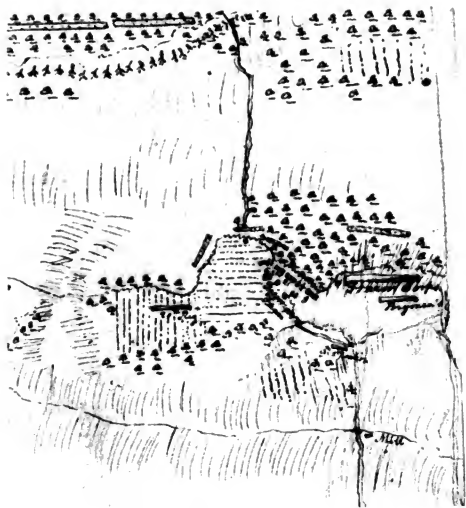
thro. which I was order'd to fire a Shot and it not taking effect Capt. Jones laid the second himself with success, but there being no Enemy in it (tho. it was from hence Major Forbes was first attacked) the Troops passed a small bridge (over a hollow way or large gutter apparently made by heavy falls of Rain) and took post at the skirt of a wood a little beyond it.

Sep'r 19th continued. [See Maps.]

The Enemy being in possession of the wood almost immediately attacked the Corps which took post beyond two log Huts on Freemans Farm. Capt. Jones's Brigade was hasten'd to their support, I was advanced with two Guns to the left of the 62nd Regt and ye two left companies being formed *en potence* I took post in the Angle. Lieut. Reid who remain'd with Capt Jones and the other two was posted between the 9th & 21st Regts:—

In this situation we sustained a heavy tho. intermitting fire for near three hours, and Gen'l Frazers Corps being also attacked, tho. partially, Five companies of the 24th Regt. were advanced into the wood in their front, and being repulsed a second attempt was made with whole Regiment, in which they succeeded with the loss of about fifty Men.

The Enemy continuing the heat of their attack on the flank (and occasionally the rear) of the 62nd Regt., that Corps suffer'd very much,





and having lost in killed or wounded *Nineteen* out *Twenty* two Artillery attached to my two Guns Posted in the Angle, I applied to Brig'r Gen'l. Hamilton for a supply of Infantry, and (while speaking to him my cap was shot thro. in the front) not being able to obtain relief was referr'd to Gen'l. Phillips who was with Gen'l Burgoyne just beyond one of the two log Huts.

On making known my situation Capt. Jones was order'd to let me have all the Men from one of Lt. Reids Guns with a view I believe to retire mine a little, Capt. Jones was order'd to accompany me himself.

The Enemy being reinforced and advancing closer since the fire of the flank Guns were silenced I found on my return that the 62nd Regiment had made an unsuccessful effort to force them, by which that Regt. lost 25 Prisoners, and being worn down had begun to get into confusion, in which situation I found them. Capt. Jones immediately began firing, but being himself very soon wounded as were also the whole of the men we brought up, I was desired to endeavour to effect the Retreat of my Guns, but before I cou'd accomplish it, the 62nd Regt. having lost 187 Killed or Wounded and 25 Prisoners (out of between 3 & 4 hundred of which the Effectives of the Batt'n consisted) were forced to abandon the Hill & on it my Guns. Having supported Capt. Jones in my arms for some time

I carried him into one of the Huts which was filled with wounded and being sometime before I cou'd find a place to lay him in, the whole of the Troops had quitted the height and it was with difficulty I got within our own line which was advancing under Gen'l. Phillips, and at that time not more than a hundred yards from the Enemy, who were following the retreating troops.

During this attack the 20th Regt. was thrown into the wood on the left of the corn field and repulsed the Enemy which saved the Rear of the 62nd Regt. from being galled by them.

As the attack was so much on the left the 9th Regt. not being useful in their original situation, was retired across the Bridge and continued as a Corps of reserve, 'till the retreat of the 62nd Regt. when Gen'l Phillips arriving with some more Guns under Col. Williams, advanced at the head of the British line (with two German Regiments on their left) repossessed the height and my Guns. The Grenadiers under Gen'l Frazer moving forward on the right at the same time a very heavy fire commenced, the Rebels thus pressed retreated on all sides, and being driven across the Field made the best of their way to their works. By this time it being nearly dark no further pursuit was attempted.

During the attack on the 62nd Regt. two Companies of light were advanced on our left and effectually cleared us of attack which was not renewed 'till they were withdrawn

END OF JOURNAL.



HADDEN'S ORDERLY BOOKS.

[As the General Orders in Hadden's Orderly Books are frequently unaccompanied by the name of the general issuing them, the names in such cases are not attempted to be supplied by the editor, save in very rare instances when they are put in brackets, although the known absence of Gen. Carleton from, and the presence of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne at, the place of the date of the order, often furnishes a clue to the author. The General Orders without the names of the persons issuing them, are almost without exception those of Burgoyne or Phillips, the majority being by Burgoyne. General Orders were issued by the officer of highest rank at the place of issuance on the date of the order. Thus, if a General Order was issued at Chambly, and Gen Carleton was there at the date of it, it was issued by him : otherwise by Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, were he present. Should both be absent, however, then Major Gen. Phillips would issue the order. As Carleton and Burgoyne, in 1776, were constantly going from place to place, it is not always easy to say exactly who issued some of the orders. As Sir Guy Carleton was commander in chief in Canada in 1776 and 1777, all orders issued by him anywhere in that province applicable to troops within it, were paramount to General Orders issued by any other officer ; General Orders

being only more or less general, or relatively general, according to circumstances. The king's orders, or those of the secretary of state for war, applied to British troops everywhere, if applicable to them. The General Orders of the commander in chief of a province, applied to all the troops within that province if applicable to them ; and the General Orders of the general of highest rank in a particular locality, applied simply to the troops within that district or restricted locality. If an inferior officer desired to issue an order he could only issue a Division, Brigade or Regimental Order, and only of such a character as would not conflict with the orders of his superiors. *Editor.*]

[By Sir Guy Carleton.]

General Orders.

June 3rd, 1776.

Captain Edward Foy of the Royal Artillery is appointed Deputy Adjutant General to the *Army in Canada.*

All Reports from the Ordnance either concerning the Engineering Branch, or Artillery Department to be made to Major General Phillips, through whom all Orders will be communicated to them.

Captain Bloomfield of the Royal Artillery is appointed Major of Brigade to Major General Phillips.

Hadden's Orderly Books. 169

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. June 3rd, 1776.

Lieutenant Twiss^{eb} is to proceed to Three Rivers, and give his directions for constructing of Boats. The description of one of these Boats

^{eb}. William Twiss was born in or about the year 1745.¹ He entered the military department of the Ordnance in July, 1760, and was commissioned a practitioner engineer and ensign in the Royal Engineers in 1764. All his life he remained connected with the engineer corps in which he was promoted to be a sub-engineer and lieutenant April 1, 1771.² From 1762 to 1771 he served as an engineer in the garrison at Gibraltar, and from 1772 to the end of 1775 he was employed on the new fortifications then constructing for the defence of the dock yard at Portsmouth. Early in 1776 Lieut. Twiss embarked with the reinforcements sent out to Gen. Carleton.³ He landed at Quebec late in May of that year, and on the 10th of the next month he was appointed on the staff of Major Gen. Phillips.⁴ He assisted in expelling the Americans from Canada, and then Sir Guy Carleton appointed him controller of works. In conjunction with Lieut. Schanck, the superintendent of the naval department, he was set about constructing a fleet for Lake Champlain, with gun boats and batteaux for conveying the army across the lake. They began their arduous undertaking the middle of July, when the British government had neither vessel nor boat on Lake Champlain, nor the smallest building for barracks, storehouses, or workshops. Notwithstanding all difficulties the fleet was built; and, Oct. 11th, it fought and beat the Americans at Valcour Island, thus winning for Great Britain

the naval supremacy on Lake Champlain, which it retained throughout the war.⁵ The following sentence is from Sir Guy Carleton's order issued from Isle aux Noix Oct. 4th, 1776, relating to "a disposition being made for the army to proceed in search of the enemy," viz: "Captain Pringle, Captain Dacres, and Captains Schanks and Starke of the Navy, and Lieut. Twiss of the Corps of Engineers deserve particular distinction in this acknowledgment, it being to the indefatigable attention of these gentlemen that the surprisingly expeditious advancement of the important works carried on is owing."⁶ Lieut. Twiss accompanied the army to Crown Point in the autumn of 1776, and also returned with it and wintered in Canada.

In the spring of 1777 he was appointed chief engineer of Burgoyne's army. To his zeal and activity at the investment of Ticonderoga was due the precipitate evacuation of that post by the Americans, as he reported to Gen. Phillips that he could cut a road to the top of Mount Defiance in twenty-four hours and plant a battery there which would command the American fortifications. He set about his work with characteristic earnestness, but the Americans did not wait to see him finish it. He served throughout Burgoyne's campaign and was present at all the general engagements. He was included in the Saratoga Convention, but was exchanged a few days afterwards, and returned to Ticonderoga, which post he assisted in evacuating in November, 1777.

is a common flat bottom called a King's Boat or Royal Boat, calculated to carry from 30 to 40 men with stores and provisions, with this only difference, that the Bow of each Boat is to be made square resembling an English Punt, for the

In the autumn of 1778, he, together with Capt. Aubrey of the 47th, and Lieut. Schank of the navy, was sent by Gen. Haldimand, Sir Guy Carleton's successor, to establish a post at the entrance of Lake Ontario⁴, and, on the 18th of December of that year, he was promoted to be a capt. lieutenant and captain, which gave him the full rank of captain of engineers.⁵ The high opinion entertained of this officer by his superiors is shown by the two following letters from Gen. Haldimand, then commander in chief in Canada, the first to Lord Townshend, and the second to Lord George Germaine.

"Quebec, June 18th, 1779.

....."Capt. Marr, who is at present the senior Engineer in the Province I found stationed at Quebec by Gen. Carleton, and the entire direction of all the other Forts &c. put under Lieut. Twiss. I continued this Regulation both because I thought it for the good of the service, and as far as I could learn, that it was also your Lordship's intentions it should be so. A more thorough knowledge of these Gentlemen has convinced me that I was right, and as Capt. Marr is now old and infirm, I have this summer consented to the request (he made last Fall tho. too late) of returning to England, and I shall order him to lay before your Lordship his remarks upon Cape Diamond together with his Proposals for a Citadel, and I do earnestly request that your Lordship will apply to His Majesty to have Lt. Twiss appointed the Chief Engineer of this Province, as I have found his zeal, activity and abil-

ities equal to the important trust, and although he has the Misfortune of being low in Rank, I am informed he has been 19 years in the service, and being actively employed during the whole of that time."⁷

Quebec, 18th June, 1779.

....."I have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship that every Branch of the Engineer Dept. which is carried on under the direction of Lt. Twiss is performed with great judgment and economy, and I have such confidence in his abilities and integrity that I request he may be appointed the Chief Engineer for this Province, and Capt. Marr who has been employed as Engineer at Quebec having applied for leave (tho. too late) last Fall to return to England I have now permitted to go home by the next ship.

"The several posts established for the security of the Country are so very distant, that it not only requires an uncommon share of activity in the Chief Engineer, but also great dependence upon the application of each officer under him, as they have separate stations," &c.⁸

During the remainder of our Revolutionary struggle Capt. Twiss served in different parts of Canada as commanding engineer, and at the peace of 1783 he obtained leave to return to England. In 1785 he was employed as secretary to the Board of Land and Sea officers, appointed under the King's sign manual, to report upon the defences of the dock yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. From 1785 to 1792 he served as an engineer at Portsmouth where many new works were being constructed, par-

conveniency of disembarking the Troops, by the means of a kind of broad gang board, with Loop-holes made in it for Musquetry, and which may serve as a Mantelet when advancing towards an Enemy, and must be made strong accordingly.

ticularly Fort Cumberland at the entrance of Langston Harbor.³ He became a lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Engineers July 16, 1794²; and Dec. 26th of the same year he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, the duties of which position he assumed Jan. 1, 1795. This office, which was worth £300 a year, he continued to hold until he became colonel commandant of the Royal Engineers in 1809, when, by the rules of the service, he was superseded, Lieut.-Colonel Mudge of the Royal Artillery being appointed his successor Aug. 16, 1809.⁹ He was during all this time, however, employed on various services. Between 1792 and 1799 he was engaged in increasing and strengthening the defences on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, particularly at Dover Castle. When Col. Hay of the Engineers was killed in Holland, in 1799, Lieut.-Colonel Twiss was sent there as commanding Royal Engineer, and served under the late Duke of York, remaining there until the evacuation of that country was completed.³ The reputation of Lieut.-Colonel Twiss with his brother officers at this time is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter written by the Marquis Cornwallis to Major General Ross.¹⁰ The Marquis, after referring to Col. Hay's death, says:—"The force destined to serve in Holland, which is one of the most considerable in number of our national troops that has ever been employed on the Continent, has now no Engineer of rank or character. Should not the Ordnance say something to the Duke of York, even if H. R. H. should make no application? I should have thought that Twiss, who is certainly

our best, should have the direction, with some assistants who would be more able in point of bodily fatigue."

Jan. 1, 1800, he became a colonel in the army², and during that year he was sent to visit the islands of Guernsey and Jersey.³ April 18, 1801, he was promoted to be colonel of Engineers², and the next year he was ordered to make the tour of Ireland and report respecting its defences. In 1803 he was again sent to the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In 1804 he was appointed a brigadier-general², and Oct. 30, 1805, a major-general.² During this latter year he was directed to carry into execution the system of detached redoubts and towers, which government had adopted for the defence of some of the sea coast, and which was finished about 1809. He was also one of the engineers sent to report how far the same system was applicable to the eastern coast.³ He became colonel commandant of the Royal Engineers June 24, 1809²; and in 1810, after an active service of fifty years, he obtained leave to remain unemployed and retired into the country.³ He became a lieutenant-general Jan. 1, 1812, and a general May 27, 1825.² His only child, Katharine Maria, wife of Walker Ferrand, Esq., died Feb. 15, 1827, and Gen. Twiss survived her scarcely a month, as he died at Harden Grange, Yorkshire, on the 14th of March in that year, aged 82 years², there being but one officer above him on the Royal Engineer List at the time of his death. [¹C. V. 313. ²B. H. 2E. R. 364. ³F. E. 6. ⁴F. E. 50. ⁵F. H. 26, 27. ⁶F. H. 102. ⁷F. H. 108. ⁸K. R. 54, 58, 84. ⁹C. W. 128.]

By Major General Phillips.

B. O.

June 6th.

1776

The General having directed Major General Phillips to take the Department of Artillery and Corps of Engineers under his command, he is assured the utmost Harmony and good Disposition will subsist between the two Corps so very necessary for his Majesty's Service. Major Williams being Commanding Officer of the Detachment of Artillery, under Major General Phillips, will have the ordering all detail, and ordinary duties, and he will receive his orders from, and report to Major General Phillips on all occasions.

Major Gordon "will make such arrangements in the Corps of Engineers as he shall see proper,

cc. Harry Gordon of Knockspock, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire, came from an old Scotch family, that obtained from James IV, in 1508, a grant of the barony of Clatt, which was renewed by James VI, in 1604, "to his beloved James Gordoun of Knockspoke." The early British Army Lists do not mention the Engineer Corps, so it is impossible to state when Major Gordon entered the Royal Engineers. In the Army List of 1756 he is down as a sub-engineer, which grade was equivalent to a lieutenant of Foot, but no date of commission is given. He became an engineer in ordinary and captain Jan. 4, 1758, and a major in the army July 23, 1772.¹ He was serving in Canada in Sept., 1776,² and he had probably been stationed there for several years prior thereto. A letter written from Quebec, to be found in the *London Chronicle* for Aug. 7-9, 1777, says, "Major Gordon, Chief

Engineer, goes home, and is succeeded by Capt. Twiss of the same corps;" and the same paper for Aug. 5-7, 1777, under date of Aug. 6, says, "Col. Gordon, lately arrived from Quebec, was presented to the King at St. James, and had the honour of a conference with his Majesty." He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army Aug. 29, 1777, and a sub-director of engineers and major in that corps Dec. 18, 1778. His last promotion was Nov. 20, 1780, when he was made a colonel commandant of Engineers, or simply colonel, as that grade afterwards was known, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1787.³ He married a Philadelphia lady named Hannah Meredith, by whom he had four sons and two daughters, and one of his sons subsequently became a major-general in the army. His descendants still survive. [*'Q.* 322. *B. H. *'F.* E. 49.]

and will be so good to order an Officer to receive orders from the Major of Brigade every Day.

The Major General informs the Officers that in common detail Duties, he means to adhere to a Roster, but in particular cases not; as he shall always employ such Officers, as he shall think most proper from Experience in the Service; and he makes no doubt but the young and newly appointed Officers will use every means to make themselves intelligent in the service, and by activity, and a strict attention to their duty, render themselves useful and good Officers; and he does assure them he shall study to give them every possible mark of regard and favour accordingly.

The Major General relies on the Captains for the strictest attention to their Subalterns and men, that they will discourage all Ideas of difficulty, and prepare them for a fatiguing campaign, which the Major General is assured will be entered upon with Zeal, and pursued with all manner of Activity, Subordination, and strict Discipline.

By Major General Phillips.

B. O.

June 7th.

Second Lieutenant Collier^{ed} will act as Secre-

ed. William Collier entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, March 1, 1768. He was appointed a 2d lieutenant in the 3d Battalion of the Royal Artillery March 15, 1771; a 1st lieutenant July

tary to Major General Phillips during this Campaign, all Orders signified by him from the Major General are therefore to be obeyed.

By Major General Phillips.

B. O.

June 8th.

Major Gordon on completing two armed Boats, and having given such orders relating to the rest, as also with regard to the large Boat, so that the completing of the whole may go on under the direction of the Engineer who is left at Quebec, will set out as soon after as he pleases for the Army: he will direct Engineer Wade to take such plans, and make such inspection of the works at Quebec, as may be necessary to form a report for the General, of the present situation of the place, so that arrangements may be taken to put it into that state of defence as may be thought proper.

Captain Jones will remain at Quebec taking upon him the command of the Garrison Artillery.

German additional Gunners at Quebec are to receive *6d* per day and non-commissioned Officers *7d* per day.

7, 1779; a capt.-lieutenant Dec. 1, 1782; and a captain March 16, 1791. He served under Burgoyne, and was included in the Saratoga Convention. March 1, 1794, he was made a major in the army, and he died in Corsica July 21, 1796. [G. U.] i

As all orders in detail go through Major Williams, he is to have an Officer constantly attached to him, who will receive Brigade Orders, and the Detachment will obey any orders delivered in Major Williams' name by this Officer during the Campaign, Major Williams will appoint who he pleases to this duty.

By Sir Guy Carleton,

General Orders. Three Rivers, June 10th, 1776.

Lieutenant Twiss of the Engineers is appointed an Aid de Camp to Major General Phillips.

General Officers appointed to serve in the *Army in Canada* under the Command of his Excellency Guy Carleton, General, Governor, &c.

Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Majors General Phillips and Reidesil; Lieu'ts Colonels Nesbit,^{es} Fraser, Powel and Gordon, are ap-

ee. William Nesbit entered the British military service April 20, 1751, as an ensign in the 36th Foot. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in his regiment Oct. 15, 1754, and to a captaincy in the 2d Battalion of the 31st Foot Sept. 2, 1756. This battalion was detached from the 31st in 1758 and re-numbered as a separate organization, whereupon his regimental number became the 70th Foot. May 1, 1760, he became the major of his regiment, and on the 6th of the following February he exchanged into the 69th Foot. Nov. 24th, 1762, he was promoted to the lieut.-colonelcy of the 4th or King's

Own, and on the 16th of the following April he exchanged into the 59th Foot. On the 21st of March, 1765, he again exchanged, this time into the 47th Foot. This latter regiment was in America at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and for nearly a year prior thereto, and took part in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. In the order issued by Gen. Gage two days after the latter action thanking the troops for their gallantry, Lieut.-Col. Nesbit is mentioned by name. The 47th was dispatched to Quebec in the spring of 1776, and its lieut.-colonel went with it. June 10, 1776, Lieut.-Col. Nesbit was

pointed to act as Brigadier Generals, till the King's pleasure is known.

By Sir Guy Carleton.

General Orders. June 11th, 1776.

Ensign Freeman^{cf} of the 24th Regiment is appointed to act as Major of Brigade to the

appointed to act as brigadier-general till the King's pleasure could be known, and was assigned to the First Brigade, composed of the 9th, 47th, and 31st regiments, to which, upon the death of Gen. Gordon, the 21st was added. During the following September, he was so seriously attacked with illness that, on the 15th of that month, Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, of the 21st, was appointed to relieve him during his sickness; and late in the succeeding October, or the early part of November, he died. Some Americans have reflected severely upon Col. Nesbit's humanity. Col. Irvine, in recounting his adventures after the battle of Three Rivers upon the retreat from Canada, when he and some of the other baffled Americans took to the woods to escape capture, wrote in his journal as follows: "Gen. Thompson, Bird and I then concluded it would be better to deliver ourselves up to British officers, than to run the risk of being murdered in the woods by the Canadians. Indeed, we were so exhausted as to be unable to march further; accordingly, we went up to a house where we saw a guard, and surrendered ourselves 'prisoners at discretion.' Colonel Nesbitt commanded here, by whom we were cruelly treated. His party marched hence for Trois Rivières. A strong guard marched with the whole of the prisoners. General Thompson

and I had the honor of being marched for six miles in the common crowd, without further distinction than being placed near the front. The commanding officer would neither allow us horses or a carriage, though we requested it, and represented to him our miserable condition. Notwithstanding, we were hurried off in a few minutes, and pushed exceedingly fast for six miles, when we arrived at head-quarters. Generals Carleton and Burgoyne were both here, who treated us very politely. They ordered us refreshments immediately; indeed, General Burgoyne served us himself." A writer of a letter from Boston, dated Dec. 5, 1776, to be found in the American Archives, 5th series, vol. 3, 1089, animadvertes upon "the noted Colonel Nesbit," in this manner: "His skill in military matters we are strangers to; but this we can say of him, that he was master of the art of tarring and feathering, as he tried his hand on a poor countryman in this town some time before the *Lexington* battle." [B. H. : E. Z. : D. M. 200 : F. E. 7, 38, 55 : F. X. 117.]

^{cf.} Quin John Freeman began his military career as an ensign in the 24th Foot, July 7, 1775. The next year he accompanied his regiment to Canada, where, on June 11th, he was appointed brigade major to Brig. Gen. Fraser's brigade. In 1777, he participated in

Corps commanded by Brigadier General Fraser. Lieutenant Dacres of his Majesty's Ship *Le Blonde* is appointed an Assistant Quarter Master General.

Lieutenant Thomas Storey^{eg} of the 47th Regiment is appointed to act as Major of Brigade to Brigadier General Nesbit.

Burgoyne's expedition and was embraced in the Cambridge parole. After Gen. Fraser's death he served on Gen. Riedesel's staff, and that officer, in writing to Lord Shelburne, in 1782, uses this language: "I have in my suite two English officers—one in the capacity of an assistant, by the name of Willoe, captain of the 8th Regiment, and another, Lieutenant Freeman, my adjutant, of the 24th Regiment, who was formerly brigadier major to Brigadier-General Fraser who fell October 7th, 1777, in the engagement near the school house. Both of these officers were detailed to me by Lord George Germaine by the orders of his majesty, the king of Great Britain. While the other generals have found means for doing something for their adjutants, I have been unable to do anything to shew my gratitude to my two officers, who consequently, hold to this day the same rank as when I first had the pleasure of having them assigned to me. Both are officers of talent, and both are full of zeal for the service, and can be employed with profit, should an opportunity offer. I am convinced that it would be of the greatest advantage to them if they should be remembered by your excellency when a chance of promotion occurs; and such a favor, on your part, would lay me under the greatest obligations, which I should endeavor to reciprocate whenever an opportunity offered."² Freeman became a lieutenant in his regiment Oct. 8, 1777,

and a captain Jan. 25, 1786; and he was promoted to be major of Lord Belvedere's Foot, the 93d, July 9th, 1794. There is some confusion in the Army Lists as to the date of his becoming a lieutenant-colonel in the army, some giving it as Oct. 27, 1794, and others as March 10, 1795. He became lieutenant-colonel of the 16th Foot Sept. 1, 1795; Deputy Barrack-Master-General in Ireland, May 10, 1799, a position he held till 1822; colonel in the army Jan. 1, 1801; major-general April 25, 1808; lieutenant-general June 4, 1813; and general July 22, 1830.¹ He died at Liverpool Dec. 1, 1834, in the 80th year of his age, after a connection with the British army of nearly sixty years.⁴ [¹B. H. ²F. E. 7. ³K. N. 137. ⁴L. U. 144].

^{eg}. Thomas Storey was commissioned a lieutenant in the 95th Foot April 29, 1763. His regiment was reduced the same year, and he went upon half-pay, where he remained till June 6, 1770, when he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the 47th Foot, then in Ireland. He undoubtedly participated in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and accompanied his regiment to Canada in 1776. June 11, 1776, he was appointed brigade major to Brigadier Gen. Nesbit, who commanded the First Brigade, Lt.-Col. Hamilton succeeding to the brigade on Nesbit's death. He served through Burgoyne's campaign, and was included

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Lake St. Peter's, 14th June, 1776.

The two Pieces of Cannon under Lieutenants Smith^{eh} and Yorke^{ei} are to be put under the Command of Captain Mitchelson, who will go on with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, and will act with them, taking his Orders from the Commanding Officer of the Troops, whoever he shall be on Landing.

in that officer's surrender, his name appearing on the Cambridge Parole. He became a captain April 6, 1778, and he exchanged into the 20th Foot April 1, 1780. At the peace of 1783, when the additional companies of the 20th were reduced, he went upon half-pay, but the next year he exchanged with Capt. William Culliford on to the active list of his regiment, his second commission as captain in the 20th bearing date June 9, 1784. He appears for the last time on the Army Lists in 1794. [B. H.]

rk. William P. Smith entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, April 1, 1768, and was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the Royal Artillery March 15, 1771. He served through Burgoyne's campaign; was wounded in the action of Oct. 7, 1777; was included in the Saratoga surrender and signed the Cambridge Parole. He became a 1st lieutenant July 7, 1779; a capt.-lieutenant Feb. 28, 1782; a captain May 24, 1790; and he commanded No. 6 Company, 2d Battalion. His subsequent commissions were major in the army March 1, 1794; in the artillery April 25, 1796; lieutenant-colonel in the army Jan. 1, 1798, in the artillery

Jan. 8, 1799; and colonel in the artillery July 20, 1804. He died at Leith fort, July 23, 1806. [B. H.: G. U.: C. Z. 181: G. V. 176.]

ei. John H. York entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, May 1, 1768, as a gentleman cadet; and March 15, 1771, he was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Artillery, which was stationed in America in 1772 and 1773. When he went to Canada is not known, but he was with Burgoyne in 1777, during the latter part of whose campaign he was attached to the left division of the artillery; and he was taken prisoner in the battle of Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7. He became a 1st lieutenant July 7, 1779; a capt.-lieutenant April 9, 1782; and a captain May 26, 1790, his being No. 3 Company, 4th Battalion, now "8" Battery, 2d Brigade. He became a major in the army March 1, 1794; a major in the artillery Dec. 9, 1796; a lieutenant-colonel in the army Jan. 1, 1798; a lieutenant-colonel in the artillery July 16, 1799; and a colonel in the artillery July 20, 1804. He was drowned on the coast of Brazil Nov. 1, 1805. [G. U.: B. H.: H. I. 10: C. Z. 257, 315.]

Two Ammunition Carts to be added to those two Guns, that a greater proportion of Ammunition may be carried with the Guns on Shore, the rest of the Ammunition and Stores are to be so loaded in the Boat or Boats, as to be got at with the greatest ease in order to supply the Guns on Shore without delay.

Two Brigades to be formed immediately and to be ready for landing under Major Williams, each Brigade to consist of four Six Pounders, the 1st, Captain Carter and his Company, the 2nd, Captain Walker and his Company. The rest of the Officers and men are to be so divided as to render the two Brigades equal. A Conductor of Stores to be appointed to each Brigade,—an Ammunition Cart with each Gun with its proper proportion of Ammunition and Stores for Action.

The rest of the proportion of Ammunition and Stores to correspond as nearly as possible to that given by the Major General at Quebec. The Brigades to be divided, and Officers attached to each directly, so that when Guns are ordered to be separated from either of the Brigades, it may be instantly done, with the proper number of Officers and Men; to do this, each Brigade must be divided and subdivided.

A proportion of Entrenching Tools to be taken with each Brigade as it may be necessary to form Batteries on Shore.

One Long Boat filled with Entrenching Tools to attend the Landing of the Troops with a careful Conductor, who will deliver Tools in such quantities as may be demanded, taking down the names of the Officers who demand them, and the quantities delivered to each.

The greatest precision is to be observed by the Officers in giving their Orders, the greatest Coolness and Subordination by the men in obeying them, and as the use of Artillery in action will depend on a clear arrangement and management of the Guns, and a strict attention of the men to their Officers, in order to which the most profound Silence is absolutely necessary; Major General Phillips therefore orders the Officers to punish on the Spot during the time of Action any disobedience of these Orders.

The Officers in the Field being separated, are to command according to Seniority, but are not to detach themselves from the Brigade to which they are posted by Major Williams according to this Order.

Particular Instructions in the Field when landed, relative to the Nature of the ammunition to be employed at particular times, whether Round or Grape, the posting of Guns in particular Situations, will fall under the Orders of Major Williams, the Captains Commanding Brigades, and the eldest Officers, as they may happen to be detached.

Major General Phillips relies on Major Williams, and the Detachments continuing that Zeal and good Conduct for which the Corps of Artillery have hitherto been so fortunately distinguished.

The utmost care to be taken that the Artillery do not uselessly fire away their Ammunition, nor even fire at all, but when some Object appears to make it necessary. The great consequence of this Order will be evident from considering how difficult it will be to supply regularly the Ammunition on Shore. This Order particularly addressed to the young Officers, who are to take care not to fire their Guns too quick, and not without being well spunged and carefully pointed.

Whenever it may be necessary to call for the assistance of the Infantry in deep roads or marshy grounds or in steep ascents or descents, application must be immediately made to the Brigadier General, if with the Brigade, or otherwise to the Commanding Officer of the nearest Regiment, if the situation is so critical as to prevent an application to the Commanding Officer of the Troops on the spot.

Whenever there is in General Orders anything relating to the delivery of Ammunition, Powder, Entrenching Tools &c. &c. to the Troops, the

Commanding Officer of Artillery will direct the Commissary to issue them without waiting for Brigade Orders from the Major General.

G. O. *Sorel, June 15th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Paul. C. S.—Varenne.

The remainder of the first Brigade will land at Sorel as soon as the weather will permit: Brigadier General Nesbitt will follow the rear of the Rebels with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and Canadians of his Brigade as far as St. Denis, where he will take post till further Orders.

Brigadier General Nesbitt will take fourteen Days provisions and the Camp Equipage for all his Corps.

If the Weather or any other circumstances occasion delay in collecting the Boats with Provisions and Camp Equipage, Brigadier Nesbitt will march without it, and leave a proper Officer and Detachment to bring it after him with all possible expedition. A Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, with two Field Pieces, will march with Brigadier Nesbitt in his Service.

The Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Mates of the general Hospital on board the different

Transports to immediately repair on board the Monimia Transport to receive Orders.

G. O. *Off St. Sulpice, June 16th, 1776.*

Parole — St. Simon. C. S. — Bie.

The 29th Regiment is to disembark immediately on the North Shore with Provisions to the 20th Instant inclusive, and they are to march forthwith to take possession of Montreal, at which place they are to wait for further Orders.

The rest of the British, and the Troops of Brunswick and Hanau are to disembark immediately on the South Shore with Provisions likewise to the 20th inclusive, and they are to assemble with all expedition near the Church of Vercheres which is opposite the headmost Ships.

The Brigade of Artillery as ordered yesterday by Major General Phillips is to disembark with these last Troops, to be provided in the like manner, and to assemble as fast as possible at the same place.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. *Verchere, 16th June, 1776.*

Parole — Carleton. C. S. Canada.

An Officer of each Corps to attend during the Night with the Captain of Militia in the

Town the arrival of the Troops, which are immediately to be cantoned in the Neighbouring Houses and Barns, and to be in readiness to march early in the Morning: the strictest Discipline to be observed.

A Subaltern's Guard of Twenty four Men to form the Guard now mounted on the great Road towards Varenne, this Guard to make frequent Patroles, at least half a Mile towards Varenne and to be extremely vigilant.

A Subaltern and 30 Men to mount near the Church who will give Centinels to Brigadier General Powel, and the Field Officers: Patroles are to go continually from this Guard about the Village, and not to suffer any Soldier to straggle out of their Quarters, it will likewise patrol as far as the advanced Guard.

In case of an Alarm or when the Troops are ordered to assemble, it is to be on the grand Road near the Church.

The Artillery will mount the Guard already ordered.

G. O. *Vercherres, 17th June, 1776.*

Parole — Quebec. C. S. — Britain.

The Corps to march this morning.

The advanced Guard consisting of two Companies of the 20th, and three of the 24th, with

two Six Pounders to proceed to Boucherville under the Orders of Major Carleton, who will receive Orders from, and report to Major General Phillips.

Brigadier General Powell with the Grenadiers of the 24th, and three Companies of the 21st, and the 53rd Regiment to march to Varenne and Canton there.

The Quarters to be formed close together, so that the Men may be able to assemble on the shortest notice at the alarm Posts, which will be fixed at Varenne: A Piquet of 2 Subalterns and 36 Men to be posted towards the Woods looking on Chamblé. The Piquet will advance 400 Yards, two small Piquets as Posts of Intelligence, and will make frequent and strong Patroles in the Front, and on their Flanks.

A Piquet of a Captain, two Subalterns, and 50 Men, is to form as near the alarm Post as possible and to make frequent Patroles about Varenne, towards the advanced Subaltern's Piquet and also on the road for a Mile or two towards Boucherville.

The 21st Regiment will take this Duty.

A Return of the Provisions is to be given in, and what is not cooked to be done to-day.

The Men are to clean and oil their Feet and Shoes, and take every means to refresh, and

be prepared for long Marches. Should any of the Men be left behind, they are to be sent for up to night to Varennes.

The 24th Grenadiers to mount Guard on the General at 2 o'Clock.

General after Orders.

1 o'Clock.

The Piquets not to assemble till 5 o'Clock. His Excellency General Carleton will then be here and will give his Orders.

After Orders.

Varrennes, 6 o'Clock.

The Corps which arrived here this Day to march tomorrow morning at 4 o'Clock, to assemble at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3. Brigadier General Powell will march towards Longueil where further Orders will be given.

The advanced Guard under Major Carleton to march tomorrow morning at 5 o'Clock to Longueil: It is to take up its Cantonments at the extreme part of Longueil towards La Prairie where it may refresh, but to be prepared to renew the March at the shortest notice: Major Carleton will send a Report to meet the March of Brigadier General Powell.

G. O.

Varennas, 18th June, 1776. 5 H. A. M.

When Brigadier General Powel arrives at Longueil he will canton the 21st Regiment, to take up their Quarters among the Houses and Barns on that side of Longueil which leads to Chamblé, and this Regiment will give a Captain, 2 Subalterns and 50 Men for the General's Guard, which will afterwards form the Piquet or Piquets for the night.

The Artillery, the 24th Grenadiers, and the 53rd Regiment to be quartered as near together as possible in the Centre of Longueil. An Officer to be sent forward to arrange the Cantonment, who will mark Houses for the Head Quarters, the Majors General, and the Brigadier General.

Major Carleton and the advanced Guard will be posted in that Quarter of Longueil towards la Prairie. The whole to be prepared to march at 5 o'clock this Evening, but not to assemble till further Orders.

Longueil, ½ past 8.

A Return to be given in directly of the number of Carriages that will be necessary for the Baggage, and the sick Men of each Corps, also what Calashes will be wanted, including the

Commanding Officers of Corps, and such other Officers as may be unable to march by Lameness or Sickness. The Artillery to make a Return of what Horses they will want.

Should there be a few men of each Corps unable to march quick from being very much foot sore, they may compose the Baggage Guard.

The Arms and Ammunition to be inspected into, and put into complete Order this Afternoon.

G. O. *Longueil*, 18th June, 1776, 5 o'clock P. M.

Parole—St. Matthew. C. S.—Montreal.

Brigadier General Powel with the Troops under his Orders will march tomorrow morning to La Prairie where further Orders will be given.

The whole to assemble at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'Clock and march as soon after as possible.

Horses for the Artillery, Charettes for the Baggage, and Calashes, as many as can be got, will be at the Church tomorrow Morning at 3 o'Clock: Any man absolutely incapable of marching, may remain here under the care of a Non Commissioned Officer—a Return of such men to be made to Major General Phillips at la Prairie.

The Grenadiers to lead, then the Artillery, followed by the 21st and 53rd Regiments.

A Piquet of One Subaltern, and 20 Men from the Guard to be advanced at Sun set a small distance in the front of the Quarters of the Grenadiers. This Piquet to keep continual Patroles in their Front during the Night. An House or Barn to be found to lodge this Piquet in.

The advanced Guard is to continue accoutred, and ready to be under Arms at the least notice or Alarm. A strong Piquet is to be posted towards the Road of St. John, and small Parties of intelligence posted forward not exceeding two Miles; the utmost attention taken to avoid Surprize. A great party of Canadians will join Major Carleton this Evening to assist in making Roads, and repairing Bridges, the utmost diligence to be used, and if possible, the Work to be continued all Night. The Canadians about la Prairie are to be employed on the Roads forward at a distance: These Canadians are to be obliged to work, and are not to have any covering Party, but still it is to be insisted on that the most vigorous exertion is to be used: Should any Indians of the Saut de St. Louis arrive to offer their Services, they are to be ordered to return to their Villages and remain there; and should any of the Indians, who have gone to the Rebels yesterday or have favoured

the Rebels, and are not returned to their Villages, are to be ordered to return, and remain, on pain of being treated as Rebels. Any material Intelligence to be forwarded directly.

G. O. *La Prairie, 20 June, 1776.*

Parole—St Luc. C. S.—Ostend.

The British Troops shall take up the following Cantonments as soon as conveniently they can.

Brigadier Frazer's Corps to relieve the Guard at St. Johns, and to be cantoned on the two Roads leading to that Post as follows.—

The Grenadiers next St. Johns, and the 24th in their rear on the Road from Chamblée. The Light Infantry in the road from La Prairie.

Gordon's Brigade except the 29th shall canton in the rear of the Light Infantry on the same road.

Nesbitt's Brigade shall canton in the rear of the 24th Regiment at Chamblée, and Powell's Brigade in the rear of Nesbitt's at Belloiel.

Major General Phillips will give Orders concerning the Artillery, which will occupy St. Charles on the Sorell.

The Brigadiers will canton their Brigades, attending to the convenience of the Troops,

giving place to those next St. John's, and at the same time so as to be ready to support each other, should any Attack be made by the Rebels.

Bread for four Days will be delivered to the Troops this Evening and to-morrow morning to the 24th Inclusive,—they will apply to Mr. Wier Commissary near the Church at La Prairie: Every Regiment may receive at the same time six Oxen from Biscerne, Captain of the Militia, which they will kill, and distribute to the Troops agreeable to the regulation of the Ration; exact Accounts to be kept of the fresh Meat received and delivered.

Every Regiment and the Corps of Artillery is to send its general Return to the Deputy Adjutant General as soon as possible.

G. O. *Montreal, 22nd June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Luc. C. S.—Sorell.

G. O. *Montreal, 23rd June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Mark. C. S.—Hesse.

Those Regiments who have not already got up their Camp Equipage, will send for it as soon as possible, as most of the Transports are to drop down the River, and soon return to Europe. It is recommended to the officers to deposit their heavy Baggage at Montreal, Quebec, or Sorell.

It is the Commander in Chief's express Orders that the Monthly Returns of the first of June be given in immediately by the British Regiments and Artillery to the Deputy Adjutant General, and also that they do prepare, and make their returns of the 1st of July to be given in on that Day.

G. O. *Montreal, 24th June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Philip. *C. S.*—Beck.

All the Surgeons of the different Regiments, to collect the sick of their respective Corps, and make out a state of their Cases, that such as stand in need of it, may be sent to the general Hospital at Montreal.

All men sent to the general Hospital to be sent with their Arms, and necessities, the Clerks of the Hospitals granting a receipt to the Regiments for the same: The Regiments are to pay into the general Hospital the Men's Pay, a certain sum excepted, which is to be left to furnish them with necessities, which sum is to be hereafter regulated by the Commander in Chief.

Any non-commissioned Officer or Soldier detected in trafficking with the Indians in Rum, or anything else is to be punished in the severest manner.

Hadden's Orderly Books. 193

Brigade Orders. 24th June, 1776.

A Return is immediately to be made out and transmitted to Major General Phillips of such men as have not had the Small Pox, and the Surgeon of the Detachment is to be ordered to prepare them, to prevent as much as possible the ill consequences that may attend their catching it in the natural way.

The clothing of such men as have not been properly fitted, are to be immediately completed, and the Detachment is to be furnished with such necessities, as they may stand in want of, in order that they may appear perfectly clean, and dressed in a Soldier-like manner to which particular attention must be had.

G. O. Montreal, 25th June, 1776.

Parole—St. Andrews. C. S.—Bristol.

Mr. Landrief is appointed Inspector of the Batteaux at Montreal, and is to assist the Commissary General in transporting Forage and Provision to the upper Country. All applications for Batteaux at Montreal to be made to Mr. Landrief, and none to be taken without his permission.

No officers on any pretence whatever to ask for, or take any Cart or Calash without paying for them : Any Officer or Non-commissioned

Officer detected in taking any, exclusive of paying the price, which is one Shilling pr. League will be punished.

G. O. *Chamblée, 27th June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Samuel. C. S.—Bruges.

The ten British Regiments to furnish two Tents each for the use of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the 47th Regiment, which are to be sent to them as soon as possible.

G. O. *Chamblée, 28th June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Paul. C. S.—Newport.

✓ The causes of the deficiency of a Market, as alleged by the People of the Country are, that the Articles which they would have been inclined to bring to public Sale, have been taken from them in their Houses: that Women in Canoes have been insulted, and discountenanced by Men bathing, with other irregularities which have discouraged this useful Plan.

It is therefore Ordered, that no Person bringing Refreshments to Market be stopped, or their Articles interrupted on any pretence whatever.

That the Market be held at the Church at Chamblée, and be open Monday, Wednesday and Friday from the Hours of Six to Nine in the

morning. An officer's Guard to be mounted for the protection and regularity of the Market, and Patrols from the Bridge to be extended to One Mile distance to each Flank, and to the rear of their Cantonment to prevent Molestation or Forestalling.

The Men of each Regiment who are willing to bathe (in which practice they should be encouraged as highly beneficial to health) are to be assembled at a certain hour every Morning and Evening, under the inspection of a Commissioned or a Non-Commissioned Officer, and not allowed more than half an hour for that purpose, and no Man to bathe at any other time of the Day.

An Officer and Serjeant per Brigade to attend as Orderly at Head Quarters, to carry all Orders to the different Brigades.

G. O. *Chamblée, 29th June, 1776, Saturday.*

Parole—Matthew. C. S.—Crown Point.

It being necessary for the distribution of Provisions to the Army, that assistance be given to the Commissary General,

The General directs there be appointed to each Brigade of the Army one under Assistant Commissary, who will remain always attached to the Brigade for the receipt and delivery of Provis-

ions, as also, when such Brigade may be far distant from the general Magazine, for providing Provisions for it.

This under Assistant Commissary to be subject to all Instructions from the Commissary General, the Deputies and Assistants, and is also to receive Orders for the security of Provisions on particular occasions from the Brigadiers General of the Brigade to which he is attached. This appointment to be allowed five Shillings per day, during its continuance, and the General allows the Brigadier General to recommend an Officer of each Brigade for this Service, taking care that he be Active and Intelligent, and as a further Assistance to the Army in this particular, the General directs that a very careful, sober, active, honest Non-commissioned Officer be recommended from each Regiment, who is to act as a distributor of the Provisions to his respective Regiment.

He is to be immediately subordinate to the under Assistant Commissary of the Brigade in which his Regiment is, and to be answerable to him for all provisions received, and all delivered to the Regiment: He is to keep a most exact Account of the Rations, with the weight of each particular Species, which Account he is to deliver in on the 24th of each Month to the under Assistant Commissary, to be laid before the Com-

missary General, and it is to be certified by the Non-commissioned Officers so appointed upon Oath. One Shilling and Sixpence per diem is to be allowed to these Non-commissioned Officers.

A Return to be given in immediately, what Artificers are to be had from every Regiment, noting the different branches of Masons, Smiths, Carpenters, Wheelwrights, and, particularly, Sawyers.

No Officers or others are to make demands for Horses or Carriages, but by an Order from Brigadiers General, and the Country is on no account to be distress'd, as the Service will suffer from it: All carriages to be suffered to return home after the Service is performed, and are not to be stopped on the way: One hundred men to be ordered from the Parishes of *Contrecoeur* and *Vercherres* to work on the Roads between *St. John's* and *Chamblée*: They will be furnished with Provisions, and relieved every fortnight.

The Regiments to be under Arms in their several Cantonments for two hours, and no more in the cool of every Morning to prepare themselves for active Service: No Exercise need be practised, except Loading, Levelling, charging with Bayonets, and marching, in which it is meant to comprehend changing front by Divisions, and by Files; suffering the Regiment to break and form upon one given point, either by

a file from Right, Left or Centre: The Order of forming is to be at two deep, and the Files 18 Inches asunder.

All Parades of the Regiments to be with Arms: The men not to be kept more than one hour at an Evening Parade.

A weekly State from each Brigade to be given in every Monday, beginning next Monday Se'night: The form to be taken from the Adjutant General.

Chamblée June, 1776.		Rank and File.						Alterations in Officers since last Return.
REGIMENTS	Present fit for Duty	Recruits and others not fit for the Ranks	On Command	Officers Servants	Sick Present	Sick in Hospital	TOTAL	
39th 47th &c &c								

G. O. *Chamblée, 30th June, 1776.*

Parole—St. Mark. C. S.—Isle aux Noix.

Mr. Rousseau ^e is appointed Quarter Master to the Commander in Chief at Head Quarters, and is to be obeyed as such.

^e Assistant Commissary J. Rousseau was included in the Saratoga Convention and signed the Cambridge Parole. He

was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781. [K. J. 64.]

G. O. *Chamblée, 1st July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Luke. C. S.—Sorel.

A List of all the Volunteers in the Army is immediately to be given in to the General, specifying the Regiments to which they respectively belong.

Such Regiments as have not given in a list of their Artificers to give it in without delay. The Brigades to be more attentive in sending their Orderly Officers to Head Quarters.

Brigadier Powel's Brigade to send an Orderly Officer to Head Quarters to receive 4 days' Orders, viz't from the 27th of June to the 1st of July.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 1st July, 1776.

Captain Carter's Company with either Captain Walker's or Captain Borthwick's Company (whichever is the strongest of the two) are to march immediately to Chamblée, and encamp upon the ground which is marked out for them near the Fort. Their Baggage, Tents, Camp Equipage, four Light Six Pounders, with their Stores, and as many rounds as two small Ammunition Carts can carry are to accompany them, and are to be conveyed in five

Batteaux, which are sent for that purpose: If there is any overplus it must be sent by Land, hiring Horses and Carriages at the usual Rate.

One of the remaining Companies is to continue at St. Charles with the rest of the Stores till further Orders: The other is to canton as near the Artillery Transports at Santour as possible in order to assist and direct the disembarkation of the Stores from the Ships agreeable to such Orders as they may receive from time to time, which Stores are to be embarked in Boats, and transported up the River either by towing or otherwise.

The Howitzers (both 8 Inch and Royal) with the Heavy and Medium 12 Pounders, and the Shells and Shot belonging to them are to be disembarked and sent up to Chamblée, as soon as possible after the arrival of the Company at Santour: Such Batteaux or Boats as may be wanted exclusive of the Gondola (which will be sent down as soon as she is unloaded) and the Boats belonging to the Artillery Transports are to be applied for to the Commanding Officer of the Navy at Sorel or the Agent of the Transports. Those Ships that draw most Water are to be first unloaded in preference to the others, where the nature of the Stores demanded will allow of it.

Articles which are to be ordered to Chamblée by the first conveyance.

A Field Officer's Tent and Marquee for Major Gordon.

Six Officer's Do. complete.

The Engineer's Instruments from the Devonshire.

A Box of Stationery from the same Ship or Charming Nancy.

G. O. *Chamblée, 2nd July, 1776.*

Parole—St. John. C. S.—Three Rivers.

G. O. *Chamblée, 3rd July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Augustine. C. S.—La Prairie.

Four Companies of the 29th Regiment are to remain at Montreal: The Officers and Men to be quartered in the Barracks: The other four Companies of that Regiment to March and Quarter at La Chene: They will take their Camp Equipage with them, that they may encamp when their Cantonments become disagreeable.

The Recruits of the 8th will canton above the 29th Regiment on the Road leading up the River: and Sir John Johnston's Regiment higher up than the 8th. Lieutenant Colonel Sir John Johnston *ek* will command the Cantonments.

ek Sir John Johnson, Bart., was the only son of Sir William Johnson, by his wife Catherine Wisenberg; and was born at his father's residence on the Mohawk, in the state of New York, Nov. 5th, 1742. He was educated in England,

Major French^{el} will command at Montreal till further Orders: he will make strict enquiry into the conduct of all strangers: attention should also be paid to the Conduct of certain Persons residing there, well known to all the creditable Inhabitants of the Town to be little better than Traitors to the King.

and while on a visit to the mother country Nov. 22, 1765; was knighted by George III. in his father's lifetime as a mark of favor to the father.¹ He was married to Mary Watts, daughter of the Hon. John Watts of his Majesty's Council, June 30, 1773, and on the death of his father, Sir William Johnson, July 12th of the next year, he succeeded to Johnson Hall and large landed estates in the neighborhood, in Tryon county, about twenty-four miles from Schenectady, on the Mohawk River. He likewise succeeded his father as major-general in the militia of New York, his appointment bearing date in November of that year.² His family was so prominent, and his influence was so great, that, upon the beginning of hostilities with Great Britain, so much solicitude was felt as to his course, a watch was set upon him, and pledges exacted for his pacific conduct. It was only natural that a family that had received so much from the crown should favor the royal cause, and Sir John was viewed with suspicion from the first, and all his movements were construed as inimical to the popular cause. Accordingly in May, 1776, steps were taken to apprehend him, but he received timely notice of the preparations being made, and hastily packing up a few of his effects, and summoning a number of his tenants and neighbors who sympathized with him, he escaped with them to Canada, after enduring nineteen days

terrible suffering in the woods through which they travelled. Sir John now became a pronounced tory of the most bitter type. Lady Johnson was removed to Albany and detained as a kind of hostage for the peaceable conduct of her husband, but she nevertheless gave much information to him, and to the tories, both in New York and Canada, so that the Albany Council ordered her removal from that part of the country. She finally made her escape to New York and joined her husband in Canada.³

Arrived in Canada Sir John was at once appointed a colonel in the British service, and actively set about raising an organization of loyalists, who either had accompanied him from New York, or who soon followed him. This corps was divided into two battalions, and was known as the Royal Regiment of New York, and as the Queen's Loyal Americans: it was, likewise, popularly known as Johnson's Royal Greens, and it acquired a most unenviable notoriety in the Mohawk valley on account of its barbarity. Sir John, with his regiment, formed part of St. Leger's expedition in 1777, and the inglorious repulse of the British before Fort Schuyler (or Stanwix) and their subsequent return, not to say flight, to Canada, did not tend to diminish Sir John's bitterness towards his neighbours of the Mohawk valley that espoused the popular cause. Sir John's corps formed a part of the force which in the latter

^{el}. See Appendix 19.

He will order to be confined all Persons whose behaviour may require it: and Reports are to be made of all extraordinaries to Head Quarters.

All the Carpenters and Sawyers, and one good Smith from each Regiment, except Brigadier Frazer's Corps, to be sent to Chamblée so as to arrive on the 5th Instant. A Proportion of

part of Sept., 1777, was sent under Gen. Maclean to the relief of Ticonderoga when menaced by an American force. Sir John's corps was to have proceeded southward and effected a junction with Burgoyne, but the toils of adversity so quickly tightened round the latter officer, that Sir John's force did not get beyond Ticonderoga, where it remained until that fort was abandoned, when it returned to Canada.⁴

In 1780, Sir John made a predatory incursion into his native valley which he ravaged with fire and sword; and the Indians, that accompanied him, spared neither age nor sex. Sir John having been defeated at Fox's Mills, was forced to abandon his spoils, and to retreat in haste, though Sir Frederick Haldimand, the Governor General of Canada, in his official report to Lord George Germaine of this affair, says—"I cannot finish without expressing to your Lordship the perfect satisfaction which I have from the zeal, spirit and activity with which Sir John Johnson has conducted this arduous enterprise."⁵

On the 14th of March, 1782, Sir John was appointed "Commissioner, Superintendent General and Inspector General of the Six Nations of Indians and their Confederates, and of all the Indian Nations inhabiting the Province of Quebec and the Frontiers,"⁶ a position he held a number of years, though the name of the office was afterwards abbreviated to "Inspector

General and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs throughout America."⁷ October 21st of the same year he was appointed a brigadier-general of provincial troops, and Capt. Scott of the 53d Regt., was made his major of brigade.⁸ Sir John was included in the New York Act of Attainder, and all his estates were confiscated. At the close of the Revolution he settled in Canada, where he received grants of land from the crown, and where in addition to other offices held by him he was colonel of the six battalions of the militia of the eastern townships of Lower Canada, and a member of the Legislative Council.⁹

Stone, in an appendix to his *Life of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 2, §29, says that Sir John was the last provincial grand-master for the upper district of the colony of New York.

The following is extracted from a very interesting paper upon Sir John Johnson in the *American Historical Record* for August, 1874, from the pen of William C. Bryant. "The Baronet during his long and busy life, had no permanent and fixed abode, but resided at different points in Canada, at Montreal, Lachine, Kingston, &c. It was his custom to spend the hot months at his shooting-box, or country house, located at a spot called Mount Johnson, on a large tract known as the Seigneurie of Monnoir, in the county of Iberville, and which had been granted him by the British government.

Tents &c to be sent equal to the number of men, and each Regiment is to send a careful Serjeant to take charge of the Men.

These Soldiers, working as Artificers, are to have one Shilling British a day, and to be allowed Grog with their Provisions. The Serjeant from each Regiment to be allowed one Shilling and

..... He possessed also a small country seat at Twickenham, near London, England, which he made his residence during his frequent and protracted visits to the old country. Not a vestige now remains of Sir John's residence at Mount Johnson, the estate, which was sacrificed for a quarter of its real value, having passed out of the family in 1827. His hospitality was proverbial. In fact the financial embarrassments which clouded his later years, and wrecked his fortune at last, were mainly due to his princely and prodigal manner of living, and the sacrifices he made to place his children, as they arrived at maturity, in positions of comparative independence. . . . Sir John died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Bowers, in the city of Montreal, January 4, 1830. His funeral was attended by a larger concourse of people of all classes than ever assembled in the Canadas to pay respect to the memory of an eminent citizen. His remains were deposited in the family vault at Mount Johnson, and on one of the stones, over the entrance, is the simple inscription: 'To the Memory of Sir John Johnson, who died on the 4th January, 1830, in the 89th year of his age.'

"His family consisting of eight sons and three daughters, are all deceased. The last, an unmarried daughter, died at Montreal on the 1st day of January, 1868. Of the sons seven were in the British army, and one, the father of the present baronet, served a short time in the

British navy. Sir John was an old man at the period of the last war with England, but it is somewhat singular that none of his sons were engaged in that struggle."

In the historical introduction to the *Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson*, [Munsell's Historical Series, No. 11,] the trenchant pen of General J. Watts de Peyster has given a vigorous and elaborate defence of the conduct and character of Sir John. This was a veritable labor of love with General de Peyster, who was connected by family ties with Sir John Johnson, and a number of whose kinsmen, moreover, served as officers under the crown during our Revolutionary struggle. While not sharing General de Peyster's views to any considerable extent as to Sir John Johnson in particular, yet it does seem, in regard to loyalists in general, during the war for independence, that as undue violence is the invariable accompaniment of all rebellions, so that of our forefathers was no exception to the general rule; and though the bitterness of a family quarrel characterized both sides alike, yet the acts of attainder and confiscation with which our patriotic ancestors drove their relatives and former friends and neighbors into exile and poverty for a no more heinous offence than adhering to a government under which they had all grown up together, even if some of its acts were utterly unjustifiable,—were harsh to a degree far beyond the necessi-

three Pence per diem. These Detachments are to assemble at the Camp of Artillery at Chamblée where Orders will be given to them.

The Brigades may use Cartridges for Exercise, but the Ball is to be most carefully preserved except *twenty* for each Recruit, and *ten* for every other Soldier of each Regiment, which may be expended for firing at marks, or otherwise, at the orders of the Brigadier General.

A Return to be given in from each Regiment to Major General Phillips on Saturday next of the number of Ball in Store, that Powder, Paper and Twine may be ordered for the Regiments to make into Cartridges.

The Brigades will take care to preserve eighteen Rounds for Service.

Lieutenant Harrington^{em} of the 20th Regiment is appointed Assistant Quarter Master Gen-

ties of the case. The siper experiences of our country in our own day have doubtless tended to somewhat mollify former asperities of judgment, and to convince many holding widely different views, that mere difference of opinion, however sturdily upheld, after having been submitted to, and settled by, the final arbitrament of the sword, was no adequate justification for wholesale proscription and enforced banishment and confiscation. It seems, likewise, as if the great majority of American writers, content with contemplating the actors in our great initial struggle on their own side alone, have meted out but scanty justice to the motives and conduct of

those who were in their day, as we think, a too law abiding people;—an unjust law being a form of oppression to which a refusal to submit is justifiable in theory, though very difficult to put into practice. [¹G. R. 573-593; G. S. 641, *et pass*; O. A. 41. ²W. 160; K. V. 577-582. ³E. 50; F. 818-830; H. 447, 641-648, 913. ⁴F. C. 24. ⁵H. O. 25. ⁶H. U. ⁷K. P. ⁸F. E. 207. ⁹I. F. 91.]

^{em}. Henry Harrington entered the British service Oct. 15, 1759, as an ensign in the 5th Foot, then in Germany. He was promoted to be a lieutenant April 2, 1762; but at the peace of

eral, and is to be obeyed as such. Captain Alexander Scott^{en} of the 53d Regiment is appointed Assistant Commissary to Brigadier General Powell's Brigade.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 4th July, 1776.

First Lieutenant Dunbar^{eo} is immediately to proceed down the River Sorel, and to inform

1763, when the additional companies of his regiment were reduced, he went upon half-pay, and so remained till Jan. 21, 1772, when he was commissioned a lieutenant in the 20th Foot, which regiment he accompanied to Canada in the spring of 1776. He was appointed an assistant quartermaster-general July 3, 1776, and in this capacity he seems to have acted through that year, as well as the following year on Burgoyne's expedition.⁴ He became a captain in the 62d Foot March 28, 1777, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1786.¹ [B. H. ²E. Z.]

^{en}. Alexander Scott belonged to the family of Scott of Logie. He was a lineal descendant in the seventh generation, of Sir James Scott, Knt., of Balweiry, and was the eldest son of John Scott, by his wife, Margaret Wood. The date of his birth we cannot fix, but his next younger brother, William Scott, was born June 23, 1736. Alexander entered the British service as an ensign in the 2d Battalion of the 37th Foot Oct. 3, 1757; and when that battalion was detached and renumbered in 1758, his regimental designation became the 75th Foot. He was promoted to a lieutenancy May 17, 1759, but at the peace of 1763, his regiment was dis-

banded, and he went upon half-pay. He returned to active service Feb. 11, 1767, when he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the 53d Foot, though some of the Army Lists give the date as Dec. 25, 1765, which is doubtless a mistake. He was promoted to a captaincy May 24, 1775, and accompanied the 53d to Canada in the spring of 1776, on the 12th of June in which year he was appointed assistant commissary of Powell's Brigade. He went on Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, but as his regiment was ordered back to Ticonderoga Aug. 10th, he escaped the fate of the main army. On the British evacuation of Ticonderoga in Nov., 1777, Capt. Scott returned to Canada with the portion of the regiment not captured in the American attack on that fortress in the preceding September. He died in the spring of 1778, leaving one son, John, who died without issue in 1801. Capt. Alexander Scott must not be confused with Capt. Thomas Scott, who was transferred from the 24th to the 53d Foot, Oct. 8, 1777. [B. H. : B. T. : F. E. 18, 95.]

^{eo}. James Dunbar entered the Royal Artillery as a private in May, 1752, and after sixteen years of faithful service was rewarded with a commission, having

himself particularly by every means in his power, what Ordnance Stores are arrived in any part of the River, in Vessels, or Boats, either from Quebec, or Three Rivers, which are to be taken an Account of, and assistance applied for either from Major Williams', or Captain Borthwick's Company (if necessary) to forward them up the River, as soon as possible.

He will then proceed to wherever the Hope-well may be, and inform Captain Hosmer that Major General Phillips directs a Report to be immediately transmitted to him, of the causes of the delays, which have so long retarded that Transport behind the Fleet, particularizing every step that has been taken in their progress up the River, from their departure from Quebec down to the present time. The Noncommissioned

been promoted to be a lieut.-fireworker in the 2d Battalion of the Royal Artillery Jan. 1, 1759. He became a 2d lieut. Jan. 23, 1765, and a 1st lieut. Jan. 1, 1771.¹ He belonged to the detachment of artillery that served in Canada in 1776, and formed a part of Burgoyne's force in 1777. Aug. 13, 1777, he was attached by order of Gen. Phillips, to Capt. Walker's company, and Aug. 4, 1777, he was appointed assistant commissary of horses of the artillery, and had charge of the brigades belonging to the wings of the army, and to the advanced corps and German reserves.² He served throughout the campaign and was embraced in Burgoyne's surrender, his name being attached to the Cambridge Parole. An-

burey mentions him as having charge of the American Capt. Van Swearingham of Morgan's Rifle Corps, who had been taken prisoner at Freeman's Farm Sept. 19, 1777. Lieut. Dunbar was promoted during his captivity to a captaincy, his commission bearing date Nov. 21, 1777³; and he was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781.⁴ After his exchange he served in New York.⁴ He became a captain Dec. 3, 1781, and commanded successively No. 5 Company 2d Battalion, now "8" Battery, 3d Brigade, and No. 1 Company, 3d Battalion, now "A" Battery, 4th Brigade.⁵ He died in New York, Aug. 11, 1783.¹ [¹G. U: B. H. ²E. Z. ³K. J. 64. ⁴D. P. 113. ⁵C. Z. 181, 220.]

Officers and Privates are to disembark, and march to Chamblée under Lieutenant Dunbar. Captain Hosmer will remain on board till the Ship joins the Fleet.

G. O. *Chamblée, 4th July, 1776.*

Parole — St. Columbus. C. S.— Longueil.

The weekly State to be given in next Monday : there must be two Copies from each Brigade ; one Copy for Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and the other for Major General Phillips.

Lieutenant Samuel Curry of the 21st Regiment, is appointed assistant Commissary to Brigadier General Gordon's Brigade.

G. O. *Chamblée, 5th July, 1776.*

Parole — St. Paul. C. S.— Montreal.

The Troops in the Cantonments not to be alarmed at the firing of Cannon, as the Artillery will practise with Powder at Chamblée.

The different Corps to send in immediately to the Quarter Master General a Return of what

sp. Samuel Currie entered the British military service March 14, 1766, as a 2d lieut. in the 21st Foot, or Royal North British Fusiliers, which was then in America; and he was promoted to a 1st lieutenancy Feb. 21, 1772. He returned home with his regiment from America, and when, in the spring of 1776, it was ordered to Canada to relieve

Quebec, he accompanied it thither. July 4, 1776, he was appointed assistant commissary to Brigadier General Gordon's brigade, and the next year he accompanied Burgoyne upon his expedition. He was killed at the battle of Freeman's Farm Sept. 19, 1777. [B. H. : G. V. 175 : E. Z.]

Bât, Baggage, and Forage money they have received before they arrived in Canada.

The Staff is to give in immediately a Return of the Ration, Bât, and Baggage money, that will become due to them for One Hundred Days, to the Quarter Master General for which a Warrant will be immediately granted.

G. O. *Chamblée, July 6th, 1776.*
Parole — St. Morris. C. S. — Quebec.

A Guard consisting of a Noncommissioned Officer, and Six Privates, are to be sent tomorrow morning to the Portage, which Guard is to take care of Batteaux, Cordage, Casks, or Stores of every kind which may occasionally be left there.

By Major General Phillips.
Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 6th July, 1776.

Major General Phillips has appointed Second Lieutenant Houghton^{eg} to be Firemaster to the

^{eg}. William Houghton commenced his long service in the Royal Artillery as a private, in Dec., 1745. He was commissioned a lieutenant June 27, 1762; a 3d lieutenant Jan. 1, 1771; a 1st lieutenant June 25, 1777; a captain-lieutenant July 17, 1779; and a captain Nov. 21, 1783. He served in the artillery on Burgoyne's campaign, was included in the Saratoga Convention, and remained a prisoner till Sept. 3, 1781, when he was exchanged; after which he served in New York. May 21,

1790, he was transferred to the Invalid Battalion of the Royal Artillery, and he died at Guernsey, Aug. 22, 1803.¹

The fire-master, to which position Lieut. Houghton was appointed by the order in the text, attended to the making up of all kinds of ammunition, whether for practice or service; and if there was a laboratory he had charge of it, and was accountable for all tools and materials used therein.² [†G. U: K. J. 64: D. P., 113. *G. N.]

Detachment of the Royal Artillery in Canada, and he is to be obeyed as such.

The Serjeants and Corporals are for the future to use Carbines instead of Halberts *or* when on Duty.

G. O. *Chamblée, 7th July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Thomas. C. S.—Chamblée.

It is the Commander in Chief's Orders that all the different Regiments of the Army in making up their Returns for each month, shall set down as present with their Regiment, all the Officers, and Noncommissioned Officers now present in Canada, whether on Detachment or Command, and also that they omit stating in their Monthly Returns, any of the Officers or Noncommissioned Officers belonging to the additional Companies in Great Britain or Ireland.

Captain Arthur James Pomeroy *es* of the 9th Regiment of Dragoons is appointed to act as Aide de Camp to Major General Phillips.

er. An halbert was a weapon formerly carried by the sergeants of foot and artillery. It was a sort of spear, the shaft of which was about five feet long, generally made of ash. Its head was armed with a steel point, edged on both sides. Besides this point, which was in a line with the shaft, there was a cross-piece of iron, flat and turned down at one end, but not very sharp, so that it served equally to cut down or thrust with. [G. N.]

u. Arthur James Pomeroy entered

the British service as a cornet of the 5th, or Royal Irish Dragoons, Feb. 10, 1770, and was promoted to be a lieutenant May 19, 1773, and capt.-lieutenant of the 9th Dragoons, Feb. 24, 1775. He was appointed an aid to Maj. Gen. Phillips, then in Canada, July 7, 1776, and he so acted throughout that year. Oct. 5, 1776, he became a captain in the 1st Regt. of Horse, which was then in Ireland, and he was promoted to be major of the 9th Dragoons Feb. 14, 1779. He appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1784. [B. H.]

Mr. Edward Merida^{et} is permitted to do duty as Volunteer in the Royal Regiment of Artillery

G. O. Chamblée, 8th July, 1776—Monday.
Parole—St. Anne. C. S.—Pointe aux Trembles.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. 8th July, 1776.

Captain Mitchelson is to detain as many Batteaux at St. Charles, as will be required for the Guns, and all the Artillery Stores still remaining there, which with the heavy Baggage of the Company is to be immediately sent to Chamblée under the care of a Guard commanded by a careful Noncommissioned Officer: The rest of the Batteaux will proceed to Santours to take in another loading from the Ships.

Upon the Stores being all embarked at St. Charles, Major Williams' Company is to march to Chamblée and encamp there.

^{et}. Edward F. Merida entered the British military service as a volunteer July, 7, 1776, in the detachment of the Royal Artillery serving in Canada, and on the 24th of the following September he was appointed an acting 2d lieutenant in the artillery, but he was never commissioned in that corps. His first commission was as ensign in the 24th Foot, and bore date Nov. 27, 1776. The next year he served with his regiment through Burgoyne's campaign, and was embraced in the Saratoga Convention,

his name being attached to the Cambridge Parole. Oct. 31, 1781, he was promoted to a lieutenancy in Capt. Wm. Thomas's Independent Company of Foot, which was soon after regimented into "a Corps of Foot" under Major Commandant Benjamin Fish. At the peace of 1783 Fish's Corps was disbanded, and Lieut. Merida went upon half-pay, and never again entered active service. His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1780. [B. H. E. Z.]

The Surgeon is to bring the Sick up to Chamblée in the Batteaux provided they can be removed without danger, and that the itchy Patients are perfectly recovered, otherwise he is to remain with them at St. Charles till they are so. ✓

The Commissary of Artillery is to be particularly attentive that the Guns, Carriages, and Stores are complete and in good order when landed, and if otherwise, that they be immediately reported to the Commanding Officer for their being replaced or repaired.

G. O. *Chamblée, 9th July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Francis. C. S.—Varenne.

In making out the weekly State of Brigades, the Grenadiers and Light Infantry are not for the future to be inserted, and it must be specified what alterations of Recruits or otherwise have taken place since last Return.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 9th July, 1776.

The Commissary of Artillery is immediately to make the best of his way to *Quebec*, where he will probably meet with two Artillery Transports from *England*, which are to be ordered to pro-

ceed up to *Santour* in the river *Sorel*, provided their draught of Water will permit, otherwise, that they go up as high as possible, and convey their Stores to *Chamblée* in such Boats and Batteaux as can be procured, applying to the Captains of Parishes for Canadians to navigate them under the direction of careful men belonging to the Detachment of Artillery. If time will permit before the Ships leave *Quebec*, the *Powder* is all to be disembarked, and left there, but no time is to be lost for this.

If the Ships should be delayed in the River by contrary Winds, or other accidents, the same Steps as are above directed must be taken for forwarding the Stores to *Chamblée* without loss of time.

Lieutenant Hadden will see these Orders strictly adhered to : and he is not to fail reporting from time to time the progress he has made and any Extraordinaries that may occur, to the Commanding Officer of Artillery at *Chamblée*, as will also Mr. Commissary Schaw.^{eu}

G. O. *Chamblée*, 10th July, 1776.

Parole—St. Louis. C. S.—Vercherre.

Ensign John Rotten^{ev} of the 47th Regiment

^{eu}. Commissary Schaw was, undoubtedly, Alexander Schaw, who, in 1782, was a commissary and paymaster in New York under Sir Guy Carleton. [H. C.]

^{ev}. John Rotton, or Rotten was doubtless a nephew of Sir Guy Carleton, whose sister Catherine married John Rotton of Dublin; the person referred to in the text without doubt being her son. John

is appointed Lieutenant in the room of Lieutenant French,^{ev} and Volunteer Gustavus Hamilton^{ex} is appointed Ensign in the room of En-

Rotton, the subject of this sketch, was commissioned Jan. 28, 1775, as an ensign in Sir Guy Carleton's Regiment, the 47th Foot, then in America, and, he with some other British officers, embarked at Cork, in the ship *Hope*, to join his regiment. These officers landed at Gloucester, below Philadelphia, in the early part of August, ignorant apparently of the commencement of actual hostilities, and that their landing at that place would sacrifice their liberty. The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety immediately took them prisoners and sent them on parole to Gen. Washington, who ordered them to Hartford. Major French, in his Journal, affords us some glimpses of how these officers passed their time in captivity, by giving an account of some of their excursions and of one of their dinners with Gov. Skene, who was likewise a prisoner there. Ensign Rotton must have been very young at this time, as Major French seems to have had charge of his money matters. In one of his letters to his wife the testy major wrote as follows:—"Pray acquaint Mr. Rotton and Mrs. McDermott that as their sons have taken the conduct of their money affairs into their own hands, that I cannot take upon me to be accountable for anything that may happen in future, or that has for some time past. In their difficulties, when taken prisoners, they depended on me; these over, they cast me off."

These captive British officers, according to their own version, received much ill-usage, so that they represented the matter to Congress, and petitioned to be removed elsewhere. Ensign Rotton signed this memorial, which bore date March 21, 1776, and was read in Congress on the 7th of the following

May; for an account of which the reader is referred to the sketch of Capt. Samuel McKay. Ensign Rotton was promoted to a lieutenantcy July 10, 1776, and he remained in Hartford on parole as late, certainly, as July 22, 1776. He served with his regiment throughout Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in that general's capitulation, his name appearing on the Cambridge Parole. July 1, 1782, he was made a captain in the 4th Battalion of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment; and when that battalion was disbanded at the peace of 1783, he went upon half-pay, and so remained as long as his name was borne on the Army Lists, its last appearance being in 1839. [C. D. 112. B. H.: C. M. 188-225: E. 148, 149, 499, 639, 1529: G. 452: I. 621.]

^{ev}. Arthur French entered the British army as an ensign in the 47th Foot, Dec. 16, 1771, and was promoted to a lieutenantcy July 25, 1775. His name is borne on the Army Lists as a lieutenant in the 47th, as late as 1783, though from the above order it would seem that he must have left that regiment on or before July 10, 1776, when his successor was appointed. [B. H.]

^{ex}. Gustavus Hamilton entered the British army as a volunteer, and was commissioned as an ensign in the 47th Foot July 10, 1776. Upon Burgoyne's expedition he was, doubtless, with one of the companies of his regiment at Diamond Island at the time of the Saratoga Convention, as he does not appear to have been included in it. He was promoted to a lieutenantcy April 1, 1780; and April 17, 1784, he exchanged with Lieut. Charles Baldwin on to the half-pay of his regiment. He returned

sign Rotten. George Clairges,^{ey} Volunteer in the 34th Regiment to succeed Ensign McFarlan^{ez} promoted, and George Stevens^{fa} Volunteer in the 47th Regiment is appointed Ensign to succeed the Honorable Lord Pitt^{fb} resigned.

to active service July 29, 1796, when he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the 30th Foot, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1797.

There was a contemporary Gustavus Hamilton, who was commissioned Oct. 26, 1775, as an ensign in the 17th Foot, then serving in America. Nov. 18, 1775, he exchanged into the 15th Foot, likewise in America, in which he became a lieutenant June 20, 1777. His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1778. [B. H.]

^{ey}. George Clerges entered the British army as a volunteer in the 34th Foot, and, according to the above order he became an ensign in the 53d Foot July 10, 1776; but on the first of the following January he exchanged into the 34th Foot, in which he was promoted to a lieutenancy Nov. 5, 1782. His regiment went to Canada in the spring of 1776, but whether he belonged to either of its two light companies that participated in Burgoyne's campaign we have not ascertained. His name appears for the last time in the Army Lists in 1783. [B. H.]

^{ez}. William McFarlane became the quarter-master of the 53d Foot June 21, 1772, an ensign therein May 24, 1775, and a lieutenant July 10, 1776. He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and, doubtless, participated in Burgoyne's campaign, though we find no reference to him in 1777. Dec. 23, 1785, he exchanged

with Lieut. Alexander Maitland into the half-pay of the 100th Foot, and he remained on half-pay as long as he was borne on the Army Lists, his name appearing for the last time in 1798. [B. H.]

^{fa}. George Stephens—we adopt the spelling of the Army Lists—entered the British service as a volunteer, and when Lord Pitt, afterwards the 2d Earl of Chatham, resigned rather than serve against the American Colonies, he was appointed an ensign in the 47th Foot, his commission bearing date July 10, 1776. He served in Canada under Gen. Carleton in 1776, and took part in Burgoyne's campaign in 1777, his name being attached to the Cambridge Parole. He became a lieutenant May 17, 1782, and captain-lieutenant Feb. 7, 1794, getting a company of his own the next year. He became a major in the army Sept. 25, 1803, and a captain in the 4th Royal Veteran Battalion Oct. 10, 1805. In the Army List of 1812 he appears as a captain among the "officers of the Royal Veteran Battalions receiving Full Pay," and he continues so to appear as long as his name is to be found in the Army Lists, it appearing for the last time in 1827. [B. H.]

^{fb}. The Right Hon. John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, Somersetshire, and Baron Chatham, a Knight of the Garter, a Privy Councillor, a General in the army, Colonel of the 4th Reg't of Foot, Governor of Gibraltar, High Steward of

G. O. *Chamblée, 11th July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Anthony. C. S.—Boucherville.

His Majesty having ordered to be paid in England to the 21st and 31st Regiments the Bât and Baggage money for the Campaign, and one Hundred Days Forage Money;

Colchester, an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, a Governor of the Charter House, &c., &c., was the eldest son of William, the great Earl of Chatham, by Lady Hester Grenville, Baroness Chatham, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq., and Hester, Countess Temple. He was born Sept. 10, 1756, at a time when his father was Secretary of State, and in the zenith of his glory. Upon William Pitt's obtaining an earldom, in 1766, his eldest son became, by courtesy, John, Viscount Pitt. The subject of this sketch entered the army March 14, 1774, as an ensign in the 47th Foot, and a few months later accompanied Gen. Carleton as an aid-de-camp to Canada, where he arrived Sept. 17th. The next year when the Americans invaded that province he came very near being captured, and Col. Barré stated in the House of Commons that he had been advised that Gen. Carleton and Lord Pitt were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of the Americans. He resigned his commission in the autumn of 1775, and embarked for England on the ship *Pomona*, Oct. 2d, 1775, arriving in London on the 2d of November. The *London Chronicle* for Feb. 1-3, 1776, says—"An officer who is just arrived from America, gives an account, that so great a respect and veneration do the people of that country pay Lord Chatham, that upon Lord Pitt's first landing there, they got an exact description of his person, which was given in orders to the riflemen,

with an intent to spare him upon all engagements: it was likewise given in constant orders, should he be taken prisoner, to treat him with all imaginable respect, the etiquette of which was even settled in every particular."

The same paper, in its issue of Feb. 20-22, of the same year, says—"We hear, what ultimately decided Lord Chatham in favour of Lord Pitt's resignation, was the account this young Nobleman gave of the general respect and veneration paid the name of Chatham all over the American continent; and particularly the standing orders both to the main army and detached parties 'that should Lord Pitt become their prisoner, to treat him with all imaginable respect.'"

Lord Pitt succeeded to the peerage, as the second Earl of Chatham, soon after he became of age, by the death of his father, May 11, 1778; and he thus came into the possession of an annual pension of £3,000, which was conferred on the first earl in 1761 for three lives. An additional pension of £4,000 a year was settled on this peerage by act of Parliament soon after the great Earl of Chatham's death in 1778, so that the subject of this sketch, besides the emoluments of the various offices he held during his life, enjoyed an annual income of £7,000, or about \$35,000.

June 6, 1778, his lordship again entered the army, this time as a lieutenant in the 39th Foot, and he went to Gibraltar as aid to Sir Robert Boyd. June

The Lieutenant General, Majors General, and Brigadiers General with the Staff and officers of the Army, except such as have already received, may give in the abstracts for Bât and Baggage

30, 1779, he was promoted to a captaincy in that reg't, from which he exchanged into the 86th, a new reg't, on the 30th of the following September. Dec. 18, 1782, he became a capt.-lieutenant in the 3d Foot Guards, which gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. On the 6th of July, 1788, his brother appointed him First Lord of the Admiralty, and he presided over the Admiralty until the middle of Dec., 1794. He was sworn a Privy Councillor April 3, 1789, and he was elected a Knight of the Garter Dec. 15th, 1790. At the time of his death he was the senior knight of that most noble order, with the exception of the sovereign and his royal brothers. He became a colonel in the army Oct. 12, 1793, and Lord Privy Seal, the fifth great officer of state, Dec. 17, 1794. He was commissioned a major-general Feb. 26, 1795, and he was declared Lord President of the Council, the fourth great officer of state, Sept. 24, 1796, the Duke of Portland succeeding him July 30, 1801. The colonelcy of the 4th Foot, or King's Own, was conferred on him Dec. 5, 1799, and he became a lieutenant-general April 29, 1802. He was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in June, 1801, in which position he continued until the dissolution of the ministry, consequent on his brother's death in Feb., 1806. On the death of his mother April 3, 1803, he succeeded to the Barony of Chatham. In the Army Lists of 1806, and 1807, he appears as Governor of Plymouth; and in the Lists of 1808, to 1820, inclusive, as Governor of Jersey. On the 31st of March, 1807, he was reappointed to the Master Generalship of the Ordnance,

which he then held until May, 1810. In 1809 he was entrusted with the military command of the unfortunate Walcheren expedition, the first and last active command he ever held. His lordship attained the full rank of general Jan. 1, 1812, and he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar Jan. 29, 1820, on the death of the Duke of Kent. He died at his house in Charles st. Berkeley sq., London, Sept. 24, 1835.

The Earl of Chatham married the Hon. Mary Elizabeth Townsend, second daughter of Thomas, first Viscount Sidney, July 9, 1783, but as she died May 21, 1821, leaving no issue, and he never married again, the peerage became extinct. His Lordship was the last surviving peer of the family of Pitt, which has been raised to that dignity in the four titled branches of Rivers, Camelford, Chatham, and Londonderry; and at his death there were but five generals above him on the Army Lists.

The Earl of Chatham owed his numerous appointments and exalted position to his distinguished birth and influential connection, rather than to any merit of his own; and it is very clear that he possessed no military genius. A writer in the *London Chronicle* at the time of the death of the great Earl of Chatham and the elevation of the son to the peerage, thus refers to the latter, and we fancy with great justice: "Those who have the honour of knowing him say, he is a very quiet character, and much more calculated for the exercise of the milder virtues, than the bustle of a public station." [B. H.: E. U. 546: L. V. 528: A. S.: F. O.: K. D. 51: E. 925: H. 39: H. I. 567: H. J. 134: J. G.]

for the campaign, as also for one Hundred Days Forage Money.

The Paymasters of the several Regiments to attend with their abstracts on the Quarter Master General and Deputy Adjutant General on the 13th Instant at 9 o'clock in the Morning.

A ship is to sail for England in two Days ; any Letters that the Officers or Soldiers of the Army want to send, are to be sent immediately to Head Quarters, where they will be taken care of.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been pleased to appoint Doctor Robert Knox *sc* to be Physician, and the Reverend Edward Brudenell *jd* to be Chaplain to the Staff.

A Serjeant and 12 Men from the 1st Brigade to be sent immediately to the *Portage*, with 2 Days Provisions, to carry Boats to *St. John's*: The Serjeant is to put 3 Men in each Boat, that are to be joined by 3 Canadians.

sc. Dr. Robert Knox was among the officers of hospitals for the British forces in North America appointed in 1776. He held the rank of "Physician" at the first, but Lord George Germaine wrote to Sir Guy Carleton from Whitehall, March 26th, 1777, as follows:—"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Dr. Knox Inspector General of the Hospitals to the Army under your command, of which he will receive the proper notice from the Secretary of War." Dr. Knox was transferred from active service to half pay as inspector general at Canada in 1781, and his

name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1792. [B. H. F. D. 167.]

jd. It should have been stated in the note on Rev. Edward Brudenel, *ante*, page 106, that in "A List of the Officers of the Army serving in North America under the command of His Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton, K. B.," for the year 1783, he is found as "Chaplain to the staff," page 18. It will be remembered that at that time Sir Guy Carleton's headquarters were in the city of New York.

This Party is to be given always at the requisition of the Quarter Master General.

The Serjeant's Party for the Boats to Day are to have Provisions for this Day and tomorrow.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 11th July, 1776.

One Subaltern with twenty Men and a proportion of noncommissioned Officers from the Park, are to form a Working Party every Day, to assist in Landing Stores, Mounting Guns, &c. The Major General's intention by this Order is not only to give the Artillery Men a share of this Fatigue with the Line, but likewise for the Instruction of the young Officers and men in so necessary a part of their Duty.

Conductor Johns with two experienced men per Company are to be fixed with the Laboratory under the direction of Lieutenant Houghton.

It is Major General Phillips positive Order that no man is suffered to straggle out of Camp, after retreat-beating, and that the Roll is to be called at uncertain hours at Night to see that none are absent.

In the quick firing Motions the man who rams home, is on falling back, to give the word *Fire* as usual, but is on no Account to turn his

head, but keep his Eyes fixed on the Muzzle of the Gun, so that he may be certain when the Gun has fired, before he steps forward to Sponge.

The Gunner who fires, although he hears the word *Fire* from the man who rams, is yet not to put the Port-fire to the Vent, but by the Order of the Officer, or non Commissioned Officer, who is at that Gun.

In quick-firing Practice the Gun is to be spunged between every firing, except now and then by order of the Commanding Officer, a few rounds may be fired without Spunging to practise the men for a time of Action when this may become necessary. The Officers will order Spunging again by word of Command.

The Detachment to practice the quick-firing Motions with Powder on Monday next.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 12th July, 1776.

The Quarter Guard to consist of an Officer, Serjeant, two non Commissioned Officers, and 24 Privates; to furnish eight Sentries, one at the Laboratory, one upon the Stores on the Beach, Two on the Flanks of the Encampment, Two upon the Park, One upon the Guard, and one upon the Commanding Officer in Camp.

It is expected that this Guard be very alert, and turn out upon all occasions ; to the General with Rested Arms, Officers Salute, Drums beat a march : The Lieutenant General the same, except the Drum beating only three Ruffles : The Majors General, the Officers do not salute, Two Ruffles : The Brigadiers, one Ruffle. To the Commanding Officer in Camp, turn out once a day with rested arms, at other times stand to their Arms.

The Officer nor any of the men to be absent from the Guard, but for a certain time at Meals.

The Picket for Duties of Fatigue to consist of the same number as the Guard, and are to take that Duty on the preceding Day to their Mounting.

The Officer's Guard is to commence on Monday next.

The hours of Exercise in the morning with the Guns, to be from Six to Eight under the Orders of a Captain, and all the Subalterns to attend.

The Evening Parade, as usual, an hour and a half before retreat beating.

When the Commanding Officers of Companies have occasion to employ any of their Men, it must be in those hours when there are no Exercises.

Two Second Lieutenants to attend in turn from ten to twelve in the Laboratory, to instruct themselves in that branch of the Service; they are to prepare Tables, Minutes and Memorandums: as an Examination will be held before the Campaign on the Lakes, which the Second Lieutenants are to prepare themselves for.

G. O.

Chamblée, 12th July, 1776.

Parole—St. Cecilia. *C. S.*—Point aux Trembles.

The Guard that is to mount at the little Portage tomorrow is to consist of a Subaltern Officer, a Serjeant, two Corporals, and 24 Men; this Guard is to furnish 3 Men to be put into every Batteaux that goes from the little Portage to St. Johns.

This Duty to be done by Brigadier General Powel's Brigade and by the Regiments of that Brigade alternatively, and is to be relieved every 4 Days.

The Offals &c. of the several Butcheries to be buried deep in the Ground, and not to be thrown into the River.

The 100 Workmen for Captain Laws to be continued till further Orders from the 1st Brigade.

Second Lieutenant William Cox^{fe} of the Royal Regiment of Artillery is appointed Under Assistant Commissary of Provisions to the Brigade of Artillery in Canada.

G. O. Chamblée, 13th July, 1776.
Parole — St. Patrick. C. S. — Dublin.

G. O. Chamblée, 14th July, 1776.
Parole — George. C.S.— Hanover.

G. O. Chamblée, 15th July, 1776.
Parole — Bristol. C. S.— Canada.

The District of Montreal, and the Parishes as far as *Les Cedres* are not to furnish Carts and Horses, or Men for Corvées,^{ff} except to transport Provisions.

^{fe}. William Cox entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet Jan. 10, 1770, and became a 2d lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Artillery June 17, 1772, which battalion was stationed in America in 1773. He served with the artillery in Canada in 1776, and accompanied Burgoyne in 1777; on July 12th, of which year, he was appointed under assistant commissary of provisions to the brigade of artillery in Canada. He was included in Burgoyne's surrender and signed the Cambridge parole. He resigned from the artillery in March, 1778, to accept promotion in the infantry arm of the service, having been

commissioned a 1st lieutenant in the 21st Foot, or Royal North British Fusiliers Sept. 20, 1777. He was appointed adjutant of his regiment Dec. 24, 1785, and so continued till 1792. He became captain-lieutenant May 31, 1789, receiving a company of his own in 1792. He appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1793.

There was another contemporary Capt. William Cox in the 5th Foot, Fusiliers who afterwards exchanged into the 85th Foot on half-pay. [B. H : G. U.]

^{ff}. Corvée is a French word, meaning in English, statute labor, husbandry service, an ungrateful task, drudgery, a

The Inhabitants of St. Therese are to be employed with their Carts and Horses only, between that place and St. Johns, at the requisition of Brigadier General Frazer.

G.O. *Chamblée, 16th July, 1776.*

Parole — London. C. S. — New York.

The Commanding Officers of Corps will take every opportunity to exercise the Troops in the use and management of Boats, in Embarking, Rowing, Landing, and forming with Celerity; also in attacking and boarding Boats, or Armed Vessels, that they may be expert in those Exercises should the Rebels be foolish enough to attempt opposition on either Element.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 16th July, 1776.

Two ten Inch Morters, and eight heavy 24 Pounders with their Stores are to be sent up by the Gondola to Chamblée in such proportions as she can carry with safety.

job. In Canada it designated the service owners, which latter furnished this labor which the peasants, or tenants, were to the British. Hence the peasants bound to render their seigneurs, or land doing this work were called *corvées*.

With the last Embarkation of the above mentioned Artillery, Captain Borthwick will embark with the remainder of his Company after having left Lieutenant Duvernet^fg with twenty men and a proportion of Noncommissioned Officers at Saintour; Such men are to be picked to form this Detachment as can be trusted with the care of the Batteaux that are sent up; and Orders are to be left for Lieutenant Hadden to proceed with his Detachment to Chamblée upon his arrival at Saintour. The Quarter Master will remain with the Transports till further Orders.

G. O. Chamblée, 17th July, 1776.

Parole — Liverpool. C. S.— Philadelphia.

Captain Money^fh of the 9th Regiment is ap-

^fg. Abram Duvernet became a gentleman cadet at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich March 1, 1774; a 2d lieut. in the Royal Artillery Jan. 11, 1776; a 1st lieut. July 7, 1779; a captain-lieutenant March 22, 1785; a captain Nov. 1, 1793; a major in the army May 6, 1795; a major in the artillery April 18, 1801; a lieut.-colonel in the army Jan 1, 1800; and a lieut.-colonel in the artillery Feb 11, 1802. He died at Ringmer in Sussex, England, Oct. 23, 1806. [G. U.]

^fh. John Money was born in Norwich, England, in or about the year 1740¹. As early as 1760 he was an ensign in the Norfolk militia,² and he afterwards served as a volunteer in the

15th, or the King's Regiment of Light Dragoons, and as such was at the battle of Fellinghausen, and other engagements in 1761.³ March 11, 1762, he was commissioned as a cornet in the 8th, or Enniskillen Dragoons, with which regiment he served until Feb. 10, 1770, when he was promoted to a captaincy in the 9th Foot.⁴ He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and took part in the operations against the Americans that year under Sir Guy Carleton. July 17, 1776, he was appointed deputy-quarter-master-general,⁵ and the next year he accompanied Burgoyne on his expedition as such, and had full charge of the quarter-master's department of that army. Capt. Money acted quite an important part,

pointed Deputy Quarter Master General, and is to be obeyed as such.

according to the British Sergeant Lamb, in Lieut.-Col. Hill's affair with the 9th Regiment, against the Americans, near Fort Ann. Sergeant Lamb, who was in the 9th, gives this version of the matter in his Journal:—"When the troops arrived at the summit of the hill they formed in Indian file, and kept up a well directed fire till all the ammunition was expended; the enemy observing that the firing ceased, was encouraged to press forward with redoubled vigour, and endeavoured to surround them in order to cut off all retreat. Just at this critical moment a war hoop was heard, which resounded through the wood; this sound, which was so obnoxious at that time to the Americans, threw them into the utmost consternation. The war hoop was sounded by captain Money, deputy-quarter-master-general; he had been detached by general Burgoyne early in the morning from Skensborough, with a party of Indians, in order to join this detachment; when they came within four miles of Fort Ann, they heard the firing; Captain Money ordered them to advance as fast as possible to assist, but they refused to obey him, and either stood still or advanced very slow. Being anxious to join the party at all events, he ran forward by himself with all his might, and came to the bottom of the hill where, just as all the ammunition was expended, he gave the war-hoop."⁴ The real cause of the Americans retreating was that they had expended all their ammunition; and if the British had done the same, as Anburey asserts, neither knew the other's predicament, so each wished to get away from its antagonist. Capt. Money was at the battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemus' Heights, at the latter of which he was taken prisoner.⁵ He testified before a Committee of the House of Commons on the 27th

of May, 1779, in regard to Burgoyne's unfortunate expedition; but whether he had then been exchanged, or was simply on parole, we do not know.⁷ As we find one of Lord Cornwallis's proclamations issued in South Carolina Sept. 15, 1780, attested by "J. Money, Aid de Camp," we infer that Capt. Money returned to America and served on the Earl Cornwallis's staff.⁸ He became a major in the army Nov. 17, 1780, and the major of the 9th Foot Sept. 28, 1781. In 1784, or early in 1785, he exchanged on to the half-pay of the 91st Foot, and he continued on half-pay, as major, from the Army List of 1785 to that of 1815.⁹

When the people of Belgium took up arms against Austria in 1789-90, Major Money offered his services to the patriots, from whom he received a commission of major-general; but the resistance not proving successful he returned to England, and proposed to raise a force of three or four thousand men from the wreck of their army for the British service. His offer was declined, because, it is said, Lord Cornwallis, the commander-in-chief in India, desired that no more foreigners might be sent out to him, the Hanoverians under his command being unfit for service.¹⁰ He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army Nov. 18, 1790¹, and in 1792 he presented a memorial to the king earnestly recommending the establishment of a corps of riflemen. On the 6th of April, in the next year, he addressed a letter to Lord Amherst, then commander in chief, in which after stating that he had just returned from serving in the French army as *maréchal de camp*, and had declined the rank of lieutenant-general in the Brabant service, he endeavoured, but without effect, to procure a command in the army then raising to join Prince

Captain Littlejohn *f* is appointed Master Attendant and Naval Storekeeper from the mouth of Sorel up to St. John's.

Cobourg. He is said to have vainly solicited employment in various subsequent expeditions; and on the return of the British troops sent to the Helder under the Duke of York, whose failure he had confidently predicted, he proposed to raise a regiment of riflemen at his own expense, but his offer was rejected.

At this time he published "A Treatise on the necessity of having Sharpshooters in the British Service"; and the want of such troops having been sensibly felt by the forces in Holland, two regiments of them were shortly after organized. His next publication, of which only forty copies were printed, was 'A Military Description of the County of Kent'; and he subsequently drew up accounts of the military positions in various other parts of the kingdom, by which he appears to have materially increased his reputation.¹ He became a colonel in the army Aug. 21, 1795, and a major-general June 18, 1798.² In 1799 he addressed a letter to the Right Hon. William Windham on a reorganization of the British army, in which he showed the value of irregulars as sharpshooters in an enclosed country. About the same time he addressed another letter to Mr. Windham, in which he strongly censured the practice of flogging, for which he proposed, in case of desertion, to substitute branding on the shoulder. He also published an address to the people of Norfolk and Suffolk on the threatened invasion, which produced such an effect, it is said, that shortly after, three companies of riflemen were raised in Norwich, twelve battalions of volunteers in Norfolk, and almost as many in Suffolk. In addition to these productions he wrote a treatise on the

use of Martello towers; a treatise on the use of portable guns for the protection of the coast; and 'An Account of the Revolutionary War of 1793,' in which he censured the conduct of Dumouriez, although that distinguished general had, it is said, offered him the command of the army of Brabant.³

He became a lieutenant-general Oct. 30, 1805, and a general June 4, 1814.³ On the return of the Bourbons to France he received a cross of St. Louis as a token of gratitude from the restored monarch, having, as it is related in his History of the Revolution, risen from his bed on the night of the 9th of August, 1792, and proceeded to the Tuilleries to assist in protecting Louis XVI, whom, his aid de camp had informed him, the mob of St. Antoine was preparing to massacre. It is alleged that while he was in Paris, about this turbulent period, he regularly transmitted to Gen. Rainsford accounts of every important event that occurred, and that his letters were invariably forwarded, through Lord Granville, to the king, whom, in one of them, he seems to have greatly offended, by stating that ministers would be either madmen or fools, to engage in a war with France under existing circumstances.⁴

He was colonel of the East Norfolk Yeomanry Cavalry at the time of his death, which, according to the Gentleman's Magazine, took place at Trowse Hall, Norfolk, on the 26th of March, 1817, when he was in the 78th year of his age. The *Georgian Era* states that he died at his estate called Crown Point, near Norwich, in Norfolk, England.¹

He was eminently instrumental in establishing the rifle corps, but doubts

f. See Appendix 20.

G. O. Chamblée, 18th July, 1776.

Parole — Howe. C. S. — New York.

Some Brigades having omitted sending in their weekly State on Monday last, they are desired to do it punctually for the future.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, 19th July, 1776.

Parole — Clinton. C. S. — Virginia.

When any Carts loaded with his Majesty's Stores pass from Montreal or elsewhere they are to be put under the charge of a careful Non-commissioned Officer from the different Canton-

exist as to his qualifications for command; and it is clear that he never enjoyed the confidence of government. He appears, however, to have possessed considerable talent as a military man, and in animal courage he had few equals. On one occasion during a violent thunder storm, which deterred one who had agreed to accompany him on an aeronautic excursion, he entered the car alone, uttering a brutal defiance to the elements, and ascended. After having been carried a distance of thirty miles, the gas in the balloon by some accident rapidly escaped and the balloon fell into the sea. Money, however, though up to his neck in water, clung to the wreck until rescued by the crew of a vessel, who had luckily discovered his perilous situation. One other incident will serve to illustrate the physical courage of this man. The cause of the sudden death of Broughton, the celebrated pugilist, which had pre-

viously been hidden in mystery, was fully revealed on an inspection of Gen. Money's papers. It appeared that Broughton, having fallen into difficulties, had resorted to highway robbery, and, unfortunately for himself, had stopped the general. "I know you, Broughton," said Money, "and will not be plundered. Go about your business, and I will never discover you." Broughton, however, insisted on having the general's purse. "Well, if you will, you must," said Money, producing a pistol and instantly lodging its contents in Broughton's body;—"There," added he, "now go home Broughton, and keep your own secret; I'll never discover you." The pugilist soon after died of his wound, and the secret did not transpire until after Gen. Money's death. [¹E. V. 97: E. M. 376. ²B. M. 84. ³B. H. 4E. Z. ⁴G. V. 142. ⁵G. V 176. ⁶B. N. 39. ⁷K. I. 28.]

ments, who are to relieve each other on the Road, and are to be answerable that the Stores are safely delivered over, for which purpose a List of them must be taken.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, 20th July, 1776.

Parole — Cornwallis. C. S. — Albany.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, 21st July, 1776.

Parole — Percy. C. S. — Maryland.

Doctor Kennedy,^J Physician to the Hospital, is appointed by the General, Inspector of the

fj. Dr. Hugh Kennedy, one of the officers of hospitals for the British forces in North America, appointed in 1776, ranked as a "Physician," until the last year of the war, when he seems to have been promoted to "Inspector General of Regimental Infirmaries," as in the Army List of 1784 he is found on half-pay with this increased rank. He continued on half-pay for ten years, as his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1793. When the Riedels returned to Europe at the close of the war, the Kennedys accompanied them, and Madame Riedesel, in her Letters and Journals, gives this not very flattering mention of them in connection with her efforts in their behalf; the general she refers to, being Gen. Haldimand, governor general of Canada. Says Madame Riedesel

in describing her preparations for departure,—"Our physician, Doctor Kennedy, on our passage through Three Rivers, pressed us to arrange it in such a manner that his family, namely, his wife and three daughters, two maid servants and an attendant, could go with us to Europe. We promised him, accordingly, to speak with the general, for he was very skillful, and we thought it would be a capital idea to have such a man with us. The general replied to me, when I asked him, 'The ship is yours, arrange matters as you please; but you do not know the pretensions of these people, who will make you a good deal of trouble.' I learned afterward, by dear experience, that he knew his man well." [p. 210.]

Regimental Hospitals, and he is to be obeyed as such.

The Officer commanding the Guard at St. Therese is not to suffer any Carts with Stores to pass on towards St. Johns, without they bring with them an Order in writing from either Major General Phillips, the Quarter Master General, or Officers authorised by them: all other Carts are to be unloaded at St. Therese and sent back to Chamblée.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, 22nd July, 1776.

Parole — St. George. C. S.— England.

Mr. Richard Huntley is appointed by the General to be Surgeon to the Garrison of Montreal.

All Recruits now at Montreal belonging to the Regiments in Canada to be marched forthwith under their respective Officers to their several Corps.

The Recruits of Regiments not in Canada, are to be marched to the Head Quarters of the Army at Chamblée in Order to be incorporated into the weakest Corps.

For the future Prisoners confined for Crimes are to receive from the Commissary no other

Provision than a full allowance of Bread, unless their Health should render any other food necessary, which must be certified under the Hand of a Surgeon or Apothecary of the Hospital.

✓
The Complaints still continue of the Inhabitants being ill treated by those who have the transports of Horses or Provisions, and in particular that the Sailors use the People ill and plunder the Farms. It is ordered that those Brigades which are on the *River Sorel* take every means to prevent these Disorders. That it be signified to the Inhabitants to apply to Officers for redress, who are enjoined to give it, and to use every means for preventing such Disorders. Patroles are to be sent occasionally from the Cantonments on the *Sorel*, who are to coast the River, and be ready to stop any violences used towards the Inhabitants.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, July 22nd, 1776.

A four Gun Battery and a Battery for four Mortars to be constructed immediately ; for this purpose Fascines and Pickets are to be made and the Batteries to be finished by Saturday Evening. The Gun Battery to be constructed at about 500 Yards from the River, taking its line of direction over the Bason of *Chamblée* to where

the River takes its course. The Mortar Battery to be so constructed that a clear Range of about 600 Yards may be gained, and the direction may be either towards the River, towards the Country, or across it, as may be most convenient. This work to be carried on in the Morning, and the Gun practice in the Evening during the Week. At all general Parades of the Detachment, all the Officers to be present, except by particular leave of the Commanding Officer in Camp. At the Evening Roll-calling, the men having reported the State of their Companies to the Commanding Officer, are to take post at the head of their Companies, and wait the Commanding Officer's Orders.

On Thursday Evening next at 6 o'clock the whole Detachment to be under Arms; the Commissary, Clerks, Conductors, Artificers, and all the civil Branch to attend, when the Articles of War are to be read. The Major General has reason to believe there is a want of Attention in the Conductors of Stores, and great irregularities among the Artificers.

Major Williams is directed to call for such reports, and have such roll-calling as he may see necessary to keep up a strict Discipline in the Civil Branch.

Any misbehaviour will be punished with the utmost Severity.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, July 23d, 1776.

Parole—St. Anne. C. S.—York.

G. O. Chamblée, 24th July, 1776.

Parole—St. Michael. C. S.—Worcester.

The Troops concerned in the following Disposition are to hold themselves in readiness to march accordingly.

The 21st and 62nd Regiments to St. Therese from whence the 21st will detach two Companies to *Hazelshouse*, and the 62nd two Companies across the *Sorel* opposite to *St. Therese*.

Orders for the conduct of these Companies will be given at the time. Three Companies of the 34th from the 6 now at *Sorel* are to occupy *Saintours*, *St. Denis*, and *St. Charles*, one Company at each place, from whence they are to establish a chain of small *Patroles* to prevent marauding and other irregularities committed by *Sailors*, and others, of which there are daily complaints.

Two Companies from the 2nd Brigade to canton on the South Side of the *Sorel* opposite *Belle Oeil* to continue the Chain of *Patroles* towards the Parish of *Chamblée*.

Besides the common Patroles all Detachments on the South of the Sorel will be prepared to push Parties into the Woods to a considerable distance, for the Conduct of which they will receive further Orders.

Boats will be ordered for keeping proper communication between the Corps of the different sides of the River.

An Officer and 25 Men from Colonel Maclean's^{fk} Corps to take post at the Ferry-house at Longueil to prevent irregularities in forcing Boats and Carriages. The Quarter Masters of all Regiments are to be responsible that the empty Flour Casks are always returned to the Deputy Commissaries by the first opportunity.

G. O. *Chamblée, July 25th, 1776.*

Parole—St. John. C. S. Florence.

The 53 recruits now at St. Therese, are to be incorporated into the 47th and 53rd Regiments, being the Corps weakest in numbers, in the following proportion, viz't. The 47th Regiment 48 Recruits, and the 53rd *five*, and those Regiments are to send Officers to receive their men tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. The Officer now Commanding the Recruits will throw them into Sizes and Lots for the impartiality of the Distribution.

fk. See Appendix 21.

The Regiments are to repair the Bridges and other Communications with their respective Cantonments and they are afterwards to keep them in proper Order for the passage of Troops and Artillery. No assistance can be had from the Country for this purpose.

The Commanding Officer of each Regiment will immediately make a strict search into his Corps in order to find out some upper Sawyers, which are very much wanted at present for the King's Service. If any are found, they are immediately to be sent to Lieutenant Twiss (Major General Phillips' Aide de Camp) at St. Johns.

The Demand made by Officers for Horses and Calashes upon all the Roads, being more than the Country (*can*) supply without Injury to the King's Service, the Brigadiers commanding in the several Cantonments will restrain the number of Officers making excursions from their Regiments except in Cases of real Business.

The Captains of Militia are to furnish no Horses or Calashes to Officers except they produce an Order from the Brigadier General, or in his absence the Officer Commanding a Cantonment, and all Calashes or Horses are to be paid for at the Post where they are taken.

The two Companies of the 21st Regiment which were in yesterday's Orders to hold them-

selves in readiness, will march immediately with their Camp Equipage to St. John's, where they will receive Orders from Brigadier General Frazer.

G. O. *Chamblée, 26th July, 1776.*

Parole—St. Thomas. C. S.—Canterbury.

The Rebel Runaways not having dared to shew their Faces as Soldiers, have now taken the part of the vilest Assassins, and are lurking in small Parties to murder, if any single or unarmed Officer or Soldier may be passing the Roads, near the Woodside.

Brigadier General Gordon was dangerously wounded yesterday by one of these infamous Skulkers. Precautions are taken to get intelligence of other Parties, and in order to be expeditious in the pursuit a Serjeant's Guard (which is quite sufficient to quell such an Enemy) is to be ready, distinct from the Picket in every Cantonment. This Guard are not to take off their Accoutrements or Shoes in the Night, but are at all times to be prepared to turn out at the instant.

The Person who commanded the Party which attacked General Gordon is Whitcomb of Connecticut calling himself Lieutenant. He is

between 30 and 40 years of Age, to appearance near 6 feet high, rather thin than otherwise, light brown Hair tied behind, rough Face, not sure whether occasioned by the small Pox or not. He wears a kind of under Jacket without Sleeves, slash Pockets, leather Breeches, grey woolen or yarn Stockings, and Shoes. Hat flapped, a gold Cord tied round it. He had a Firelock, Blanket, Pouch and Powder Horn.

Should he, or any of his Party, of the same nature, come within reach of our Men, it is hoped they will not honor them with Soldier's Deaths if they can possibly avoid it, but reserve them for due Punishment, which can only be effected by the Hangman.

Such Regiments as are not expert in making Fascines are to send a proper portion of Commissioned and Non Commissioned Officers to the Artillery Park, where that work will for some Days be going on. As soon as the Officers are instructed, the Regiments will practise under their Inspection some part of each Day.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. *Chamblée, July 27th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Mark. C. S.—Venice.

The Troops ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march in the Orders of the 24th of

July, will take up their Quarters on Monday next. Where the Cantonments are not sufficient they will encamp.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. Chamblée, July 28th, 1776.

Parole—St. Cecilia. C. S.—Milan.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. Chamblée, July 29th, 1776.

Parole—St. Jude. C. S.—Naples.

The Prisoners taken on the 25th are to be conveyed by Water tomorrow to Sorel, under the Escort of an Officer, and twenty men of the 1st Brigade, who will deliver them to the charge of the Commanding Officer there, and they are to be sent from thence on board a Transport for Quebec under the Escort of a Serjeant, and 12 Men, which the Post of Sorel is to furnish. Two days' Provisions for the Prisoners, and four for the Escort, who are to return with the Coals from Sorel, are to be taken from hence. Provisions for the rest of the Passage will be furnished at Sorel. The Majors of Brigade, Orderly Officers &c are to attend for Orders tomorrow, and the day after upon Major General Phillips.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, July 30th, 1776.

Parole—St. Margaret. C. S.—Chester.

The Guard lately given at St. Therese by Brigadier General Powel's Brigade is to be mounted by the Regiments now in Cantonments at St. Therese, but to consist only of a Serjeant, Corporal, and twelve Men. A Piquet of fatigue of 50 Men, with proper Officers, to attend every Day, and be assisting in loading and unloading Stores, and transporting Boats and Stores to St. John's. The Quarter Master General, and his Assistants, will inform the Commanding Officer at St. Therese of the particulars of these Duties.

Report has been made of some Men having deserted from Lieutenant Colonel Maclean's Regiment. The greatest attention is to be had in endeavouring to apprehend them by the Corps in the several Cantonments.

G. O. Chamblée, July 31st, 1776. *Wednesday.*

Parole—Bernard. C. S.—Brussels.

G. O. Chamblée, 2nd August, 1776.

Parole—St. Anthony. C. S.—Hume.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders.

The Commissary of Artillery is to go to Montreal to fix upon proper Magazines and Store-houses to receive Powder, and such Stores as will be ordered there from the Transports, and a careful Conductor is to be placed there to take charge of them and see them safely lodged.

All the Musquet Cartridges and Materials for making them are immediately to be sent up to Chamblée.

As the Rain laying upon the surface of the Ground in Camp is extremely prejudicial to the Health of the men, drains are to be made (if possible) to carry it off, and if that cannot be easily effected, Major Williams will fix upon the driest Spots he can find in the neighbourhood of the Park, to remove any part of the Detachment to. A strict regularity in pitching the Tents must not be adhered to if by that means they are exposed to a damp Soil.

The Carpenters &c of the Detachment are to be employed in collecting any materials to lay at the bottoms of the Tents, that may tend to keep the ground dry, and every possible means must be used for that end that can be devised.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. Chamblée, 3d August, 1776.

Parole — St. Simon. C. S. — Ludlow.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. Chamblée, 4th August, 1776.

Parole — St. Thomas. C. S. — Bedford.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 5th, 1776.*

Parole — St. George. C. S. — Warwick.

There is reason to believe there are skulking Parties of the Enemy still in the Woods.

The Brigadiers will establish such Out-posts, and Patroles, as they may think necessary to preserve their respective Cantonments, and Communications with their neighbouring Corps free from a possibility of Insult. They will likewise order a proper part of the Piquet (which is to be formed in proportion to the strength of the Brigade) to be out at Nights. A Field Officer of the Day is to do Duty in each Brigade, where there are three of that Rank present, otherwise that Duty is to be taken by the Captains. They are to visit the Out-posts, and the Patroles, to post the outlying Posts of the Piquet in the Evening, examine Prisoners and suspicious Per-

sons, and inspect all Duties within the Compass of their Cantonments, and report to the Brigadier. The Parishes to be informed that every Person found out of his House after dark, unless employed upon the King's business will be taken up.

G. O. Chamblée, August 6th, 1776.

Parole — St. Stephen. C. S.— Hanover.

A Return to be given in from each Regiment immediately to Captain Gardner,^d Aid de Camp to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, of the

fl. Henry Farrington Gardner, or Harry Farrington Gardner, the name being found both ways in the Army Lists, entered the British army May 22d, 1761, as a cornet in the 16th (or the Queen's) regiment of (Light) Dragoons, of which Lt.-Col. John Burgoyne, with whom he participated in the Portuguese campaign of 1762, was commandant. He became a lieutenant June 8th, 1768, and the adjutant of his regiment on the 20th of the next month. He was promoted to be captain-lieutenant and captain Nov. 6th, 1772, and he obtained a troop of his own six years later. He became an aid to Gen. Burgoyne when the latter was appointed to the American staff, and he went with his chief to America in the spring of each year and returned with him in the autumn. Capt. Gardner accompanied Burgoyne upon the campaign of 1777 as far as Skeneborough, whence he departed for England as bearer of despatches of that general's first successes. Sir Guy Carleton wrote Burgoyne from Quebec, July 24, 1777, as follows:—"I received your letter of

the 17th and the copy of that which you sent to the Secretary of State by Capt. Gardner, who arrived here the 22d, and there being a ship held in readiness for him nothing prevented his sailing as soon as he thought proper, which was accordingly on the morning early of the 23d Inst in one of the Victuallers of considerable force, and a remarkably fine sailer; so that he has all likelihood of an expeditious and safe passage, and certainly will be the first from Canada with the news of the progress made by the Forces under your command." The Royal George, armed transport, containing Capt. Gardner, arrived in England about the 22d of August, and thus this officer's connection with Burgoyne's campaign ceased. He became the major of the 16th Dragoons Sept. 11th, 1781, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army Nov. 18th, 1790. His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1792. [B. H.: K. 1134; H. G. 338; M. G. 101; J. L.: O. 354; F. B. 620; J. H.: J. I.]

quantity of Ammunition in Store, specifying what number of Cartridges they have ready made up.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 7th, 1776.*

Parole — St. Jerome. C. S.— Paris.

His Excellency General Carleton's Orders sent from Quebec August 4th.

[Then follows Gen. Carleton's order of Aug. 4th, which has already been printed in Hadden's Journal, *ante* page 7. *Editor.*]

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O.

The Physicians to the Army having represented that the following change in the Ration will be very essential towards the Healths of the Men, that half a Pound be taken off the Beef Ration, and a Quarter of a Pound of Rice be added in its place, the Commissaries will begin to deliver it out accordingly.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 8th, 1776.*

Parole — St. Peter. C. S.— London.

Jacques Rois	} of Yamarca.
Louis de Rosier	
Joseph de Rosier	
Francois Poinir of Bellocil.	

The abovenamed Prisoners having been examined by a Commissary of Police, and found guilty of Disobedience of the Orders of their Captains of Milice, and various other Offences proving them to be bad and dangerous Subjects, they are to be forthwith conducted to St. John's by a Serjeant's Guard, in order to be sent from thence by the first Opportunity to the Isle aux Noix where they are to be compelled to work at the Fortifications during the Pleasure of the Commander in Chief.

Aimable le Beau of St. Therese and Toussaint Lorrette of St. Charles having been convicted before the Commissary, the one of having been privy to the arrival of a Party of the Enemy without giving any Notice to the King's Troops, but on the contrary favouring and assisting the said Party, the other of having concealed a Deserter from the Army three Days in his House, changed Cloaths with him, and assisted his Escape, they are to be conducted at the same time to St. John's, in order to suffer the same punishment, but on account of the enormity of their Offences they are to be marched in Irons. The other Canadian Prisoners are to be released upon Promise of good Behaviour. These Orders are to be translated into French at each Cantonment and circulated by the Captains of Militia.

Every Regiment to demand of the Commanding Officer of Artillery in Camp the Powder,

Ball, and Paper necessary to complete to one hundred Rounds a Man, which are to be directly made up, and are to be kept in Store by each Regiment with the greatest care. The Artillery will lend the Powder Barrels (which will be delivered with Powder) to pack up Musquet Cartridges when made, but these Barrels are to be accounted for, or returned after the Campaign.

The number each will hold, well put in, is nearly 2000 Cartridges.

Whenever the Number of Cartridges of any Regiment is diminished by 15 Rounds a Man, a fresh demand is to be made, so as to keep the 100 Rounds *always complete*. The Commanding Officer of each Regiment will sign the Demand, and the Officer who is sent with the Party, will give a Receipt for the Powder &c &c &c.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 9th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Christophers. C. S.—Oxford.

It cannot but give general Satisfaction to the Army to know that the whole Gang of Deserters from Colonel Maclean's Regiment, who sought to redeem their Perfidy to the Rebels, in whose cause they were once before engaged, by becom-

ing a second time Traitors to their King, and their Lawful State, have been taken by the Out-posts and are all in safe Custody, except one, who received too honorable a Death from the Firelock of one of his Guards, whom he attempted to murder after he was his Prisoner. It appears by Brigadier General Frazer's report, that the Conduct of the Detachment employed in this Pursuit has been truly exemplary. Lieutenant General Burgoyne takes this occasion to express his fullest Approbation and Thanks to Lieutenant Norman *sm* of the 20th Regiment who commanded it, and General Frazer will please to direct a Dollar to be given to each man of the Party, in consideration of the Activity, Perseverance, and Spirit with which they seconded those Principles in their Officer.

G. O. *Chamblée, 10th August, 1776.*

Parole—St. James. C. S.—Westminster.

sm. Richard Norman began his military service Feb. 22, 1771, as an ensign in the 20th Foot, which was then at Gibraltar, where it remained until 1774. He was promoted to be a lieutenant Feb. 24, 1775, and he accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776. The next year he served through Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in the Saratoga Convention, his name being signed to the Cambridge Parole. He

was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781, and returned to England. At the peace of 1783, when the additional companies were reduced, he went upon half-pay from July 30, 1783, as a captain, though the Army Lists do not give the date of his captain's commission. He remained upon half-pay as long as his name is borne upon the Army Lists, it appearing for the last time in 1837. [B. H. K. J. 64.]

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Chamblée, 11th August, 1776.

Captain Carter will move to the *Isle aux Noix*, two heavy 12 Pounders, and four medium 12 Pounders, with the four Six Pounders, and two Royal Howitzers, which last six Pieces of Artillery are to form part of the Brigade with Brigadier General Frazer's Corps.

These Guns to be posted for the Defence of the Island and the passage of the River at the Orders of the Brigadier General. The 12 Pounders to have each one hundred Rounds of Round Shot, 50 Rounds of Grape Shot, with a proper proportion of Stores. The 6 Pounders double that proportion.

The Royal Howitzers 50 Case Shot, 100 Shells, 80 Shells to be fixed for Service, and the Fuzes cut, 50 for 600 yards, 30 for 300 yards, 20 to remain empty for occasional Service.

Half Captain Carter's Company to move to the *Isle au Noix*, the rest to be at St. John's.

After Brigade Orders.

Major Williams will order a Practice with a Medium 12 Pounder, a Light 6 Pounder, a light 3 Pounder, an 8 Inch Howitzer, and two Mortars at the Battery, to begin tomorrow, and to

continue all the week, Morning and Evening. As it is possible this will be the only Practice before the Companies separate, it is to be carried on with great attention, and to be practice for Service and not Experiment ; and it is intended to make the Officers and Men perfect in the use and ready managing the Artillery in the Field. In the course of the week an Experiment will be made to fire Royal Shells from 24 Pounder Guns ; the Mortars are to be fixed at small Ranges, and each Day a fixed quantity of Powder, by which from the different Ranges may be formed a mean Range of each Day's Practice. The latter part of the week will be firing of Grape Shot.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 11th, 1776.*

Parole—St Lawrence. C. S.—Bristol.

A Serjeant and 20 Men from the first Brigade to attend at the Fort tomorrow Morning at 5 o'clock, and take the Orders of Captain Laws. They are to have Provisions for the Day with them, and will be, as a Working Party, allowed Grog. This to continue till Orders to the contrary.

Any British Regiment having Bricklayers, are to send them to St. John's, directly to Major Gordon's chief Engineer.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 12th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Ours. *C. S.*—Dublin.

The 62nd Regiment will hold themselves in readiness to cover the Works at St. John's, and when General Frazer's Brigade is removed, will take up the most convenient part of their Ground; a Detachment of the Brunswick Troops will encamp on the Plain lower down the River. The Quarter Master General will give them their Ground. These Corps will furnish Working Parties in proportion to their Numbers.

A Company from each Regiment of the first Brigade to parade on Wednesday Morning at 7 o'clock on the Shore opposite their Cantonments with their Camp Equipage and Officers requisite Baggage. Boats will be ready to receive them, and they will exercise upon the Water. The design of this Order is to ascertain the number of Boats necessary for the whole Army. The Companies are therefore to be chosen from such as are complete in Officers, and whose numbers of Rank and File square with those of the Regiment at large.

By Major General Phillips.

B. O. *Chamblée, 12th August, 1776.*

Twelve light ammunition Carts are to be im-

mediately made; Six for three Pounders, and Six for Royal Howitzers.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 13th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Denis. C. S. — Carlisle.

By Major General Phillips.

B. O. *Chamblée, August 13th, 1776.*

The following Disposition will take place for the Artillery for the Campaign.

Captain Carter's Brigade.	{	12 Pounders Medium.	4
		6 do Light.	4
		Howitzers {	8 Inch. 4
			5½ do. 4
Captain Borthwick's Brigade attached to the Right Wing of the Army.	{	6 Pounders Light.	4
		3 do do.	4
Captain Mitchelson's Brigade attached to the Left Wing of the Army.	{	6 Pounders Light.	4
Captain Walker's Brig- ade detached with Briga- dier Gen. Fraser's Corps.	{	6 Pounders Light.	4
		3 do do.	4
		Howitzers 5½ Inch.	2

The heavy Artillery for the service will be communicated in particular to Major Williams.

Captain Walker with his Company complete, to march tomorrow Se'night to join Brigadier General Frazer's Corps. First Lieutenant Dunbar is to be added to Captain Walker's Company for the Campaign.

Captain Mitchelson's Brigade to be composed of two Subalterns, and a Detachment of two non-commissioned Officers, and eight men from Williams', Carter's, and Captain Borthwick's Companies: Lieutenant Dysart,^{fn} and the youngest Lieutenant of Captain Carter's Company for this Brigade.

Captain Borthwick will have his own Company with Lieutenant Barnes,^{fn} added to it for the Campaign for his Brigade.

^{fn}. Richard Dysart entered the Royal Artillery as a lieutenant-fireworker Nov. 1, 1762; and he was promoted to be a 2d lieutenant Jan. 1, 1771, a 1st lieutenant Dec. 18, 1777, a capt.-lieutenant Dec. 3, 1779, and a captain Feb. 14, 1786. He served in the artillery during the Burgoyne invasion, but, as his name is not signed to the Cambridge Parole, we have no means of ascertaining whether he served through that campaign. In 1779 his name appears on the list of officers serving in America under the command of Sir Henry Clinton. March 1, 1794, he was made a major in the army; was invalided for home duty Oct. 13, 1793; entered the Invalid Battalion of the Royal Artillery Oct. 2, 1795; and died Feb. 5, 1797. [G. U: H. B.]

^{fn}. John Barnes became a gentleman cadet at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. August 16, 1760. He was commissioned a lieutenant fireworker August 5, 1761, and assigned to the First Battalion of the Royal Artillery. He became a 2d lieutenant Jan. 1, 1771, and a 1st lieutenant Sept. 8, 1774, and served in North America. He subsequently went to Canada, and on the 8th of Sept., 1776, Sir Guy Carleton appointed him an assistant quarter-master-general to the army there. He crossed Lake Champlain with Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, but took little part in it, as he belonged to the detachment that was left to garrison Ticonderoga; and after leaving that fortress he served in Canada. He became

Captain Carter's Brigade to consist of his own Company, and Major Williams'.

Major Williams commands the whole wherever he happens to be, but he will be particularly attached to the Artillery of the Park.

Whenever Detachments are made it will be by Brigades, Divisions, or Subdivisions of Brigades, as the Service may require, but the Officers and Men are to be attached as they are now Brigaded till furthers Orders.

Whenever the Service of heavy Artillery requires Detachments of Officers and Men, they will be taken by Divisions and Subdivisions of Brigades, and it is to be observed that none of these detached Duties will be done by Roster ; but the Officers and Men taken in the manner before mentioned, as the only method by which the Service can be carried on with Propriety and Precision.

Captains Commanding Brigades will take care that their Subalterns and noncommissioned Officers are perfectly acquainted with every part which concerns them.

a capt.-lieutenant July 7, 1779, and a captain Dec. 1, 1782, his being No. 8 Company, 3d Battalion, now "D" Battery, 4th Brigade. He was promoted to be major Aug. 14, 1794, and lieutenant-colonel March 6, 1795; and on the formation of the 6th Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, he was made

one of its second lieutenant-colonels. He became a colonel in the army April 29, 1802, and in the artillery Sept. 12, 1803, when he was transferred to the Invalid Battalion. He was commissioned a major-general Oct. 25, 1809, and he died at Bath, April 30, 1810. [B. H. G. U : C. Z. 225, 411 : F. E. 43]

Captain Walker will exercise his Company every Day with the 3 Pounders which have Shafts, in the Mounting, Dismounting, and carrying of them, and in every other particular for which they are intended.

Proportion of Ammunition.

	Round.	Case.	Shells.
12 Pounders Medium.	120.	80.	
6 do Light.	120.	80.	
3 do do.	220.	80.	
Howitzers { 8 Inch.		40.	60.
{ 5½ do.		50.	100.

A Proportion equal to this to form a Reserve which will be carried in the Radeaux with the heavy Artillery.

A Proportion also equal to this to be lodged at St. John's as a Depôt.

Major Williams will take care that the Proportion of Laboratory, and other Stores, and every Particular necessary to compose the Proportion of Ammunition &c &c &c for the *Brigades*, for the *Reserve*, and for the Depôt, is prepared as soon as possible.

Two Conductors of Stores to be attached to Captain Carter's Brigade, and two to Captain Walker's Brigade, one Conductor to Captain Borthwick's, and one to Captain Mitchelson's Brigade.

One ammunition Cart to be for each light Gun and Royal Howitzer.

The Medium 12 Pounders and 8 Inch Howitzers, one Ammunition Waggon each.

A number of entrenching Tools equal to two Waggon Loads to be sent with Captain Walker's Brigade; the remainder with the Park of Artillery.

Particular Orders will be given relating to the Powder, Musquet Shot, Musket Cartridges, Paper, &c &c &c.

The Commissary will take care that all materials in his Department are taken upon the Lakes.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 14th, 1776.*

Parole — St. Denis. C. S. — Liverpool.

Any British Regiments having Brickmakers, are ordered to send them forthwith to Major Blomefield at Major General Phillips Quarters at Chamblée.

G. O. *Chamblée, 15th August, 1776.*

Parole — St. Croix. C. S. — Denmark.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 16th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Martin. C. S.—Holland.

The Commanding Officers will go round the Cantonments of their respective Regiments, to see what arrangement can be made to accommodate the Inhabitants with room for their Crops of Corn, after their Harvest, and when Corn cannot be lodged in Barns, without moving the Troops, those Troops must encamp.

The Commanding Officers of Regiments will make a Report to their Brigadier Generals.

G. O. *Chamblée, 17th August, 1776.*

Parole—St. Barnabas. C. S.—Flanders.

The preservation of Health in all Armies and in all Countries, depends so obviously upon Cleanliness and dry Lodging, that hitherto it has been thought superfluous to give any particular Orders upon that subject, but the Reports of the medicinal Gentlemen now make it necessary to call upon the Commanding Officers of Corps to establish and enforce a diligent Inspection into those two essential Circumstances.

Where the Men lie in Barns, care is to be taken that proper Drains are opened to carry off any Wet, that may penetrate, and if Damp still

remains, Hurdles are to be provided for the men to lie upon. When the men lodge in Tents, Hurdles are on no occasion to be omitted.

New and convenient Necessaries are to be made in the Rear of every Cantonment and Encampment every Week, and the old ones filled up; at least six Inches depth of Earth should also be thrown into the Necessaries in use every Morning.

If after these Regulations any Man is found to contribute to the Filth of the Neighbourhood, and unwholesomeness of the Air, by neglecting to make use of those Necessaries he is to be punished severely. These Orders to be read to every Company repeatedly by a Noncommissioned Officer, and the necessity of them, with regard to Health, impressed upon them.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, 18th August, 1776.

Parole.—St. David. *C. S.*—Germany.

It being observed that the usual and common Centinels of the Camp and Cantonments demand at night the Countersign of those, who pass their Posts, which if practised, the ordinary Communications between Regiments, and the

Intercourse of the Cantonments would be interrupted, it is directed that the Centinels upon Common Posts of Camp or Cantonments, upon Challenging, *who goes there*, suffer any who answer, *A Friend*, to pass.

This does not affect Parties in Arms, who may become subject to an Examination and Alarm. The Countersign is demanded upon *out Posts, advanced Piquets, Detached Guards, or Patroles*, which are posted round, or in Front, Flanks, or Rear of the Army, to preserve Communications and prevent Surprise.

The Centinels of such Posts are never to suffer any Person to pass without giving the Countersign, and are to be in every respect alert. At these Posts, Centinels should be frequently *doubled*, sometimes three Men, Centinels together, as a Security where the Enemy is suspected to be near, and in these situations there ought to be no Interruption, and therefore the demanding the Countersign, becomes necessary for Intelligence and Security.

The 21st Regiment will send 60 men to the Portage with Officers tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock to assist in drawing Long Boats through the Rapids. Lieutenant Harrington will be there to inform what is to be done.

The first Brigade to send a Non-commissioned Officer and 20 men with Lieutenant Harrington

tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock, towards *St. Therese*, to clear the side of the River from Bushes. They are to carry Hand-Bills, and Hand Hatchets with them.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. Chamblée, August 19th, 1776.

Parole—St. Andrew. C. S.—Poland.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O. *Chamblée*, 20th August, 1776.

Parole—St. Aubins. C. S.—Gibraltar.

The 9th Regiment to hold themselves in readiness to march on Thursday next to take up the Ground at *St. Therese*, lately occupied by the 62nd Regiment. A return of the Carts necessary for the removal to be sent to the Quarter Master General this Evening, that they may be furnished separately, and without interfering with the other Services. All Regiments who have the use of *Batteaux* for exercise are to endeavour to provide, in their Quarters, two Planks for each *Bateau* to be fitted with Cross Pieces to prevent slipping, and to serve as Gang-Boards, and the Men are to be practised every Day, to embark and disembark methodi-

cally and expeditiously with their Knapsacks and Haversacks. When the embarkation is made the Gang-Boards are to be placed along each side, and as large a proportion of Men, as can sit without interrupting the Rowers, are to be seated upon them fore and aft, and are to be practised to give their fire broadside.

One cross Bench at each end of the Boat, before or behind the Rowers, as may be most convenient, to be filled with Men, who are to give their fire fore and aft.

By General Carleton.

G. O. Chamblée, 21st August, 1776.

Parole—St. Charles. C. S.—Turkey.

The 21st Regiment is to be attached to the first Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Nesbitt. The 62nd Regiment to the 2nd Brigade commanded by Brigadier General Powel, and the 29th Regiment, though not at present fixed to any Brigade, is to hold itself in readiness for Employment upon the shortest notice.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders.

The Subaltern's Guard to be discontinued this Day, and for the future the Quarter Guard is to

consist of 2 noncommissioned Officers and 12 Men; four Centinels are to be posted viz't, One on the Laboratory, One on the Commanding Officer, One on the Camp Colors, and one on the Front of the Park Line and Guard.

Any Wheelers, Carpenters, Turners, or Tin-men, as are to be found in the Detachment of the Royal Artillery, are to be immediately ordered to work with the Ordnance Artificers, and are to apply to Sayers for Directions.

Captain Walker's Company is not to march to St. John's till Friday morning next.

G. O. *Chamblée, 22nd of August, 1776.*

Parole—St. Thomas. C. S.—America.

A general Court Martial is to sit on Monday next, the 26th Instant, to try the Deserters from Lieutenant Colonel Maclean's Corps, and any other Prisoners that may be brought before it.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton of the 21st Regiment, Majors Sutherland *fp* and Bolton *fq*

fp. See Appendix 22.

fq. Mason Bolton, a native of Dublin, Ireland, was commissioned as ensign in the 9th Foot, Jan. 5, 1750-51, and was promoted to a lieutenancy Oct. 2, 1755. He became the quarter-master of his regiment Feb. 11, 1756; capt.-lieutenant July 31, 1762; a captain March 23,

1764; and major May 31, 1773. For more than 25 years he served in the 9th Foot, during which term he thrice accompanied it to America, the last time, after the breaking out of the American Revolution; that regiment being detached to Canada in the spring of 1776. Nov. 11th of that year, Major Bolton was made the lieutenant-colonel of the 8th,

and two Captains from each of the six Regiments at St. Therese, Beloeil and Chamblée, are to compose the members.

Lieutenant Duport^{fr} of the 47th Regiment is appointed Assistant Quarter Master General.

or King's Regiment of Foot, then garrisoning the Canadian outposts on the Lakes, and he made his headquarters at Niagara. He wrote to Gen. Haldimand from Niagara, under date of Sept. 30, 1780, as follows: "I am now not well, and am convinced when the cold weather sets in I shall again be confined with the same complaints, which will put it out of my power to attend to any business. I therefore request your Excellency's permission to return to Canada as soon as possible, for here I cannot get that advice and many other things necessary for me in my best state of health."² In compliance with this request, leave of absence was granted him, and early in November of that year, he, with a number of other officers and soldiers, took passage on the schooner Ontario from Niagara for Carleton Island, on his way to Quebec to embark for England. A gale of wind rising soon after the vessel sailed, caused her to founder, and all on board perished.³ Serjeant Lamb, in his *Memoir of his own Life*, p. 67, thus refers to this officer: "The author cherishes an interest for the honoured memory of this gentleman, of whom the reader may be inclined to receive some particular account. Major Bolton was born in the city of Dublin, commenced his military life very young, and served with ability in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762. He held the rank of captain in the 9th regiment of foot, for seventeen years before he obtained a majority. Having fought under him in Canada,

during the entire campaign of 1776, I had opportunities of witnessing his gallantry and worth. About the end of that year he was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 8th foot, at that time on service in Detroit and Niagara; and having taken the command accordingly, he was as usual, distinguished for spirit, talent, and the attachment of the men. Soon after his being appointed Colonel, lamented by the army and all who knew him, he was unfortunately drowned in the lakes while coming down to Montreal. Too much could not be said in praise of Col. Bolton, estimating him in his profession or in society. With all the intrepidity and ardour of the military character, he possessed the most honourable mind and benevolent heart." [1B. H. "F K 475, 494. 3H. O. 24.]

^{fr}. Robert Duport was commissioned Sept. 15, 1759, as an ensign in the 47th Foot, then serving in America. Sept. 1, 1771, he was promoted to a lieutenantancy; Aug. 22, 1776, while in Canada, he was appointed an assistant quarter-master-general; and he became the captain-lieutenant of the 47th, Aug. 3, 1781. Dec. 26, 1787, he exchanged into the 28th Foot; and May 31st following, he exchanged again, this time into the 20th Foot. He seems to have got no higher than the rank of captain, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1792. [B. H. E. Z.]

G. O. *Chamblée, 23rd August, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Philips. C. S.—Scotland.

Lieutenant Alexander Frazer of the 9th Regiment is appointed to act as Judge Advocate at the General Court Martial to be held on Monday the 26th Instant, as yesterday given out in Orders.

G. O. *Chamblée, 24th of August, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Quentin. C. S.—Ireland.

All the British Regiments are to send immediately to the Deputy Adjutant General, the names of their Chaplains, specifying whether present or absent, and if absent, whether they have Deputies, and their Names, and what allowance is made to them.

G. O. *Chamblée, 25th August, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Paul. C. S.—Sweden.

G. O. *Chamblée, 26th August, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Catherine. C. S.—Florence.

G. O. Chamblée, 27th August, 1776.

Parole — St. Magdalen. C. S. — Rome.

The Surgeons of the different Regiments are to send to Doctor Kennedy at Chamblée, Inspector of the Regimental Hospitals, a List of their Sick, specifying their Names, Regiments, and Diseases.

G. O. Chamblée, 28th August, 1776.

Parole — St. Mary. C. S. — Spain.

G. O. Chamblée, August 29th, 1776.

Parole — St. Agnes. C. S. — Portugal.

In the next weekly State of the Brigades, Companies which may happen to be detached are notwithstanding to be returned in their Battalions. The weekly State of the Brigades must in future be sent separate to the Commander in Chief, Lieutenant General, and Major General.

The Order of the 8th Instant for completing 100 rounds a Man of Musket Cartridges should by this time be perfected. It is therefore directed that small Barrels, or well secured Boxes covered with painted Canvass, be provided by each Regiment, to pack these Cartridges very carefully, and secure them against Damp.

As the keeping the Regimental Ammunition in good Order is of the most essential consequence, it is hoped and expected that the utmost attention be observed in this particular.

The Regiments will be reimbursed such Expences as may be incurred on this occasion.

Colonel Vangall of His Serene Highness the Prince of Hesse's Regiment is appointed to act as a Brigadier General.

Major Carleton, Captain in the 20th Regiment is appointed Lieutenant Colonel to the 29th, in the room of Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, deceased.

Captain Lieutenant Bolton Power^{fs} of the 20th Regiment is appointed Captain of a Com-

fs. Thomas Bolton Power, or Bolton Power, as he was sometimes called, was descended in the fifth generation from Sir Henry Power, Knt., who was Master of the Horse in Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, and whose wife, a Miss Bullen, was related to her Majesty. Bolton Power's father was Thomas Power, captain in the Battle Axe Guards, and his mother was Sarah, a daughter of Capt. John Bolton of Co. Kilkenny. He was the youngest of three sons, and was born at Killmurray, Co. Wicklow, Ireland, Sept. 4, 1735. He entered the army as an ensign in the 20th Foot, Sept. 26, 1757, and accompanied his regiment to Germany, where he participated in the famous battle of Minden, in 1759. He became a lieutenant Aug. 26th of that year; and, though a lieutenant, yet he appears by the Army List of 1764, and

those of the four following years, to have served as an ensign for that period, his company probably having been an additional one that was reduced at the peace of 1763, and Lieut. Bolton preferring active service as an ensign, to going on half-pay as a lieutenant. After the 20th Foot left Germany, at the peace of 1763, it was stationed for six years at Gibraltar, whence it returned home in 1770. Lieut. Bolton was promoted to be a captain March 2, 1776; and in the spring of that year he accompanied his regiment to Canada and served under Gen. Carleton. Whether he served with his regiment the next year under Burgoyne we have no means of knowing, as we find no mention of him during that period. He was connected with the 20th Foot until the latter part of 1785, or the early part of 1786, when he ex-

pany in the same Regiment in the room of Major Carleton, and Lieutenant Alexander Frazer is appointed Captain Lieutenant in the room of Captain Bolton Power.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 30th, 1776.*

Parole — St. Lucia. C. S.— Naples.

The Commander in Chief approves of the proceedings of the general Court Martial, whereby Ensign Powerst of the 24th Regiment is acquitted of the Crime laid to his Charge, and three Soldiers of the Royal Emigrants tried on suspicion of intending to desert, are likewise acquitted. The General Court Martial is dissolved.

G. O. *Chamblée, August 31st, 1776.*

Parole—St. Joseph. C. S.—Isle aux Noix.

changed into the 95th Foot on half-pay; and he continued a half-pay captain during the remainder of his life, his retirement from active service being necessitated by his eye sight becoming impaired. He died at Greenwich Nov. 9, 1801, leaving descendants. His son, Sir Manly Power, became a K. C. B., a lieutenant-general of the Forces, and lieutenant-governor of Malta. [B. H. : B. T. : E. B. 1062.]

fr. James Power was commissioned an ensign in the 24th Foot March 28, 1775, and this seems to have been his only commission, as he appears in the Army Lists last in 1782, and still as an ensign. He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and served under Sir Guy Carleton during that campaign. He was with Burgoyne the next year and was included in that officer's surrender, his name appearing on the Cambridge Parole. [B. H.]

G. O. Chamblée, 1st September, 1776.

Parole — St. Benedict. C. S.— Sorel.

Ensign Joseph Stavelly^{fu} of the 9th Regiment is appointed a Lieutenant in the same, in the room of Lieutenant Alexander Frazer promoted; and George Clarges late Volunteer in the 34th Regiment to be Ensign in the 9th Regiment in the room of Joseph Stavelly.

G. O. Chamblée, 2nd September, 1776.

Parole — St. Hubert. C. S.— Montreal.

Chamblée, 3rd September, 1776.

[The page is left blank after the date, in the Orderly Book.
Editor.]

St. John's.

After Orders by

Major General Phillips, September 5th,
half after 6 at night.

C. S.— Albany.

An Armed Boat will be advanced towards the Post, called Montgomery's Battery, on board of

^{fu}. Joseph Stavelly entered the British army as an ensign in the 9th Foot Jan. 1, 1774. He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and was promoted to a lieutenancy Sept. 1, in that year, though his commission bore date only from Dec. 19, 1776. He accompanied his regiment upon Bur-

goyne's expedition, and he was wounded in Lieut.-Col. Hill's attack on Fort Ann, July 9, 1777. He was included in Burgoyne's surrender, his name being attached to the Cambridge *Parole*; and it appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1781. [B. H : G. V. 175]

which will be an Officer, should any Rebel appear, a Gun will be fired three times from the armed Boat, which will be repeated from Major General Phillips Tent ; on firing the last signal Guns, the Regiments will immediately strike their Tents, leaving them on the Ground, and will form under Arms.

The 62nd occupying the Ground between the two Redoubts facing towards the Wood outwards from the River ; the 9th Regiment will march 3 Companies into the lower Redoubt, and will post the remaining part of the Regiment as a Flank to the 62nd, facing towards the Road of Chamblée, forming within the Angle of the Redoubt.

The 21st Regiment will march two Companies into the upper Redoubt, and will post the remaining four as a Flank to the 62nd Regiment, facing towards the Wood leading to the Isle aux Noix, forming within the inner Angle of the Redoubt.

The Artillery will be posted close to the Redoubts, and on the Front and Flanks of the Troops, the out-Posts will maintain their situation, should they be attacked, as long as possible, and then retire so as to march through the Intervals of the 62nd, and the two Regiments on the Flanks, by which means the Fronts of the whole will be kept clear, and the Picquets in

Retiring will not be in Danger of being fired upon, as the Regiments will take care not to fire till the Piquets are safe. The 62nd takes the duty of the Night, and is to post a Captain, two Subalterns, and 60 Men on the left of the Camp, at the Entrance of the Road, leading to the Isle aux Noix.

A Subaltern and 20 Men to be detached to relieve the Subaltern of the 21st, and a Serjeant and 12 Men to be advanced still forward to Montgomery's Battery. A Captain, two Subalterns, and 60 Men for the Right to be posted near the Rebel Battery, on the high Ground, who will detach a Subaltern and 20 Men to the Road leading to Chamblée, from which a Serjeant and 6 Men will be within hearing of what may happen at the Camp of Brunswicks, which has Orders to dispute their Post, but if forced to retire are to do it by their Left to St. Johns. An Officer and 20 men to be posted within the Line of Shipbuilding who will keep a constant Patrole, to prevent any attempt to burn or destroy the Craft there, and in case of Alarm this Guard to continue there posted.

A Subaltern and 20 Men to be posted in each Redoubt, but upon being relieved upon an Alarm, are to join their Regiment.

The remaining part of the 62nd to remain under Arms in the Centre of the Ground, be-

tween the two Redoubts facing to the Wood; the detached Posts are considered as Posts of Intelligence, but are not however to retire unless severely pressed, and are then to do it upon the Posts of the Captains, who are to observe the Orders already mentioned.

Lieutenant Colonel Anstruther, and Major Harnage^{f^o} being Field Officers upon the Picquet

f^o. Henry Harnage came of a very ancient family, which, it is said, held a high rank in the county of Salop, England, as far back as the time of Edward III, A. D. 1330. His grandfather was John Harnage, a colonel of marines, who was killed at the battle of Almanza, in Spain, in 1707, and whose fifth son was the father of this sketch. Henry Harnage was the only son of Henry and Anne (South) Harnage, and was born Oct. 10, 1739.¹ He was commissioned an ensign in the Fourth, or the King's Own Foot, June 7, 1756, and was promoted to be a lieutenant Sept. 29, 1757. The second battalion of the Fourth Foot, in which Lieut. Harnage was serving, was renumbered in 1758, then becoming the 62d Foot, and hence, subsequent thereto, that became the designation of his regiment. He served in the Caribbee Islands with his corps, in which he became a captain May 4, 1767, and major Dec. 21, 1775. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army Nov. 17, 1780, and the lieutenant-colonel of the 104th Foot, March 18, 1782. He must have left the army late in that, or early in the following year, as his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1782.²

Major Harnage accompanied the 62d to Canada in the spring of 1776, where he served under Gen. Carleton; and the next year he took part in Burgoyne's

expedition. He was twice wounded; once on the 19th of September, at Freeman's Farm, and again, October 7th, at Bemus' Heights.³ Madame Riedesel in speaking of the affair of Sept. 19th, thus writes in her Journal:—"I saw a great number of wounded, and what was still more harrowing, they even brought three of them into the house where I was. One of these was Major Harnage, the husband of a lady of our company; another, a lieutenant, whose wife, also, was of our acquaintance; and the third a young English officer of the name of Yueng. Major Harnage, with his wife, lived in a room next to mine. He had received a shot through the lower part of the bowels, from which he suffered exceedingly." Again in describing Gen. Fraser's wound on the 7th of October, she alludes to Major Harnage in this wise:—"The ball had gone through his bowels, precisely as in the case of Major Harnage. Unfortunately, however, the general had eaten a hearty breakfast, by reason of which the intestines were distended, and the ball, so the surgeon said, had not gone, as in the case of Major Harnage, between the intestines, but through them." One would hardly suppose that a man shot through the bowels as Major Harnage is said to have been—escaping death, as it were, by a miracle—could recover so rapidly as to be on duty again

of this Night, will make frequent Visitations of their Posts. The Carleton Armed Vessel, and the Armed Boats under the command of Captain Dacres, will support on the Water the Operations of the Troops. The three Regiments will take up their Ground, tomorrow, as soon as the Camp Equipage of the 9th and 21st arrives. The 9th will encamp on the Right, the 21st on the Left, and the 62nd in the Centre, and will

eighteen days after. Be that as it may, however, he was reported as again wounded in the action of Oct. 7th.

Madame Riedel affords us another glimpse of this officer, for she thus writes of Burgoyne's retreat on the night of Oct. 8th:—"The order had gone forth that the army should break up after the burial" (of Gen. Fraser), "and the horses were already harnessed to our calashes. I did not wish to set out before the troops. The wounded Major Harnage, although he was so ill, dragged himself out of bed, that he might not remain in the hospital, which was left behind protected by a flag of truce. As soon as he observed me in the midst of the danger, he had my children and maid servants put into the calashes, and intimated to me that I must immediately depart. As I still begged to be allowed to remain, he said to me, 'well, then your children at least must go, that I may save them from the slightest danger.' He understood how to take advantage of my weak side. I gave it up, seated myself inside with them, and we drove off at eight o'clock in the evening."⁴

Mrs. Harnage accompanied her husband on his American campaign; and two of his letters, which have come down to us, afford gratifying testimony of the pleasant relations that existed be-

tween some of Burgoyne's officers, and the American general having the Convention troops in charge. These letters addressed to Gen. Heath are taken from his Memoirs, and are as follows:—

"Cambridge, October 30th, 1778.

"SIR: With great pleasure I acknowledge the favour of your obliging letter; and Mrs. Harnage joins me, with Capt. Hawker, in returning you our sincere thanks for your kind representation of us, and solicitation in our favour, to the Honorable Congress. With your leave, we shall with patience wait the result; and, let the Congress determine in what manner they please, our obligations to you, Sir, will be ever acknowledged.

"Believe me, Sir, with respect

"Your obliged humble servant,

"HENRY HARNAGE.

"Maj. Gen. Heath."

"Cambridge, June 10, 1779.

"SIR: Being this moment informed that you are about to quit Boston, I must beg leave, previous to your departure, to trouble you with these our acknowledgments, for the civility and attention you have been pleased to shew us; and to assure you that Mrs. Harnage, Capt. Hawker and myself shall ever retain a due sense of all favours, by which you have kindly endeavoured to alleviate,

take up the Ground, so that each Regiment may be as conveniently situated as possible, and equally partake of the dry Ground. A regular Order of Encampment is not required but the Pitching of the Tents to be done so as to preserve the Men's Health.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will fix the Order of Encampment with the Commanding Officers of the other Corps on this Plan.

The 21st gives the working Parties tomorrow ; the 9th takes the Piquet at five in the Evening.

and make easy, the restraints and disagreeable circumstances that unavoidably attended our present situation.

"We hope you will mention us to the gentleman who is to succeed to the command in the Eastern Department.

"Wishing you all personal happiness, I remain with respect, Sir,

"Your most obedient and

"Obliged humble servant

"HENRY HARNAGE.⁵

"The Hon. Maj. Gen. Hesth."

Major Harnage arrived in London Nov. 30, 1780, with dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germaine, in which are the following sentences:—"Major Harnage of the 62d Regiment will have the Honour of delivering my Dispatches. This Officer's Services with the Northern Army will, I doubt not, insure him your Lordship's Favour and Protection."⁶

After leaving the army Lieut.-Col. Harnage seems to have retained some interest in military affairs as he was appointed Inspecting Field Officer of Yeomanry and Volunteers Sept. 24, 1803.⁷

When a lieutenant, he married Mary Honour Paynter, Dec. 11, 1758; and by her he had two sons and seven daughters, but only two of his daughters survived him. Mrs. Harnage died May 27, 1790, and her husband survived her till Nov. 11, 1826. Lieut.-Col. Harnage's eldest daughter, Mary, married her cousin, George Blackman, who was created a baronet in 1821, and thereupon assumed the name of Harnage; and one of their sons, Sir George Harnage, succeeded to the baronetcy Nov. 19, 1836. One of Lieut.-Col. Harnage's grandsons, a captain in the Coldstream Guards, fell at the battle of Waterloo.¹

The William Henry Harnage, a captain of dragoons, whom the editor of Burgoyne's Orderly Book conjectures may have been a son of Lieut.-Col. Harnage, was only a cousin's son; but on his death without descendants in 1820, Lieut.-Col. Harnage inherited the old family estate of Belwardyne.¹ [¹B. R. 3G. V. 175, 176. ²K. L. 114, 119, 122. ³F. P. P. 184, 185. ⁴H. N. 529. ⁵B. M. 27.]

The 62nd may return to their Camp, except a Subaltern's Party on each Flank, at 7 o'clock in the Morning.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will send Orders that the two Companies of the 21st, on the other side the River, take the Posts and Patroles on that side, one of which Posts is to be a Serjeant and 18 Men, to be sent on board the Carleton armed Vessel; these Posts to return to their Camp at 7 o'clock in the Morning.

Major General Phillips will be found in his Tent, but in case of Alarm in the upper Redoubt.

General Orders.

September 6th, 1776.

Parole — St. Anthony.

C. S. — Belleul.

It is his Excellency the Commander in Chief's Orders that the 21st Regiment encamp on the other side the River, where the two Companies at present are. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will therefore make a Disposition, for the Purpose of taking up for his Camp the strongest and healthiest Ground.

The several Duties and Posts on that side the River, are to be taken by this Regiment.

A Captain and fifty men are to go at Gun firing every Evening in Batteaux along that side

the River, and frequently to land at different Parts to discover if the Rebels have any small Parties lurking in the Woods near the River ; which, should there be, they are directly to be attacked, and if possible Prisoners to be taken.

An Officer and 24 Men to be sent every Evening on board the Carleton, who is to give a Corporal and 6 Men for a Party in a Cutter to Patrole on the River, these Piquets to be withdrawn at seven o'clock every Morning.

The Guards of the Camp, and Piquets of Security for it, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will regulate.

The Duty at St. John's to be (during the night) a Captain, three Subalterns, and 80 Men from which is to be detached a Subaltern and 18 Men to the Post in the Wood on the Left, and a Noncommissioned Officer and 6 Men at Montgomery Battery.

A Subaltern and 18 Men at the Works upon the Hill on the Right, a Noncommissioned Officer, and 6 Men advanced to the road of Chamblée.

The Captain, Subaltern, and remaining Men to be posted in the Centre. Frequent Patroles are to be made from these Posts ; these Piquets will return to their Camp at 7 o'clock in the Morning, leaving a Serjeant and 9 Men at each Flank Post. The daily Guards as usual, and the

Subaltern's Guard in the Redoubt will make the Patrole of the Shipbuilding Line between the Redoubts during the night. Lieutenant Colonel Hill Field Officer for the Night. In case of Alarm the 9th Regiment will march three Companies into each redoubt, a Company also to cover the Artillery of each Flank. The 62nd will form as before ordered.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton to keep Twenty six Boats with his Regiment to be ready to move to the support of St. John's if ordered.

Mr. Corbin has the charge of the Batteaux under the Orders of Lieutenant Twiss, Major General Phillips' Aid de Camp; application for Boats to be made to Lieutenant Twiss. The Men off Duty of the Regiment which forms the Piquets and Guards, to give what men can be spared to Major Gordon for the Works. The 9th Regiment will do this tomorrow Morning at half after Five. The Regiment off Duty to make Fascines from 7 o'clock in the morning untill Twelve, but not in the Afternoon, as it must prepare for the Guards and Piquets.

The 62nd Regiment for this Duty tomorrow; as soon as the Artillery are posted, according to Orders, Major of Brigade Bloomefield will attend on Lieutenant Colonel Hill to shew him the Disposition.

By Major General Phillips.

Orders. St. John's, September 6th, 1776.

The Artillery having much fatigue Duty are to be allowed Grog, as is the Men of each Regiment at St. Johns, who are on the working Parties, and cutting Piquets. The Commissary Mr. McLean to deliver Rum accordingly, at the requisition of the Commanding Officer of the different Corps, who will make the Demand for the number of Men required.

By Major General Phillips.

Sr. Johns, September 7th, 1776.

Parole—St. Chrysostom. C. S.—La Chine.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

The Coraces^{fw} furnished from the different Parishes being regulated at Head Quarters with the Major of Militia attending for that Purpose, and Orders issued accordingly from thence.

It is directed that no Officers whatever in the Cantonments of the Army interfere with these Regulations, and the Requisitions made in consequence of them from the different Parishes by

^{fw}. It is believed that "coraces" in the text, is a clerical error for corveés.

Major St. George Dupret; ^{fx} nor are any Officers to demand Horses, Carriages, Men for any service from any Parish, otherwise than by application first to, and an Order obtained from, the Lieutenant General, Major General Phillips, or the Quarter Master General. It is expected that this Order be strictly attended to.

Signed E. Foy, D. A. G.

Major General Phillips orders that all Officers or Messengers, who arrive from the upper Posts,

fx. St. George Dupr  , not Dupret, as Hadden has it, was major of the militia for the city and precinct of Montreal, where he lived.¹ When, on Nov. 12th, 1775, after the British troops had retired from Montreal, the inhabitants of that city desired to capitulate to the advancing Americans, St. George Dupr   was one of twelve citizens, duly elected for that purpose, who signed the capitulation entered into with Gen. Montgomery. Many officers of the Canadian militia surrendered their commissions received from Gen. Carleton, and took out new ones from the American general, but the militia field officers did all in their power to prevent this; so Gen. Wooster sent several of these officers, including Major St. George Dupr  , "to the fort of Chambly, as a place of security and to put it out of their power to do us the injury which might justly be apprehended from them." This act of Gen. Wooster was disapproved by the commissioners of Congress, who, on their arrival in Canada, allowed the militia officers to return to Montreal, much to the disgust of Gen. Wooster, as evinced in his letter to a committee of Congress dated Philadelphia, July 5, 1776.² April 14th, 1777, Major St. George Dupr   was ap-

pointed a commissary "for forwarding the Transports for the army and for regulating the Corv  es of the Inhabitants." He served in this capacity during Burgoyne's campaign, and though the corv  es caused the British general much trouble and uneasiness, yet through the efforts of Major St. George Dupr   they were somewhat abated, we should judge from the following letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Gen. Phillips, viz :

"*Hd. Qrs. Quebec, 24th July, 1777.*"

"SIR : I have received your letter from Tyconderoga dated the 18th Instant. The presence of Mr. St. George Dupr   is so necessary in Canada for collecting and forwarding the Corv  es and for assisting the several Transports, all which would, without him, go into the greatest confusion, that his going up to you would be attended with much more detriment than use to your army. I shall endeavour to send you some person to oversee the men you have upon Corv  e, but in the meantime that end might be answered by your appointing some officer of the Troops or other person that can speak French for that purpose."³ [J]. E.   E. 1597 : l. 12.   F. B. 621.]

are not suffered to pass St. John's without first seeing him.

The 62nd Regiment takes the Guards and Piquets for this Night; the Adjutant of this Regiment will inform Major Gordon, what Number of men can be spared for the Works tomorrow Morning. The 9th Regiment furnishes the Party for making Fascines.

The 21st Regiment to send out their Piquets as usual, and the several Duties will continue untill further Orders.

The Artillery to forward these Orders to the 9th Regiment, the 9th to the 62nd, from them to the 21st, and the 21st will send them to the Corps of Engineers, who will return them to Captain Pomeroy.

It is Major General Phillips' Orders that there be an Adjutant of the Day, who will give out the Orders of the Day for the future; the Artillery send their Adjutant tomorrow. Orders at the lower Redoubt at five o'clock in the Afternoon.

Lieutenant Colonel Anstruther Field Officer for the Piquet this Evening.

By Major General Phillips.

General Orders. *St. John's, September 8th, 1776.*

Parole—St. Timothy. *C. S.*—Crown Point.

The Carleton Armed Vessel will begin Exer-

cise with her Guns tomorrow morning between Six and Twelve. The Soldiers are to be strictly enjoined not to give any Drink to the Indians, and any Women who shall be detected in having given or sold Rum to the Indians, shall be directly turned out of the Camp. The same Alertness is to be observed, as before ordered.

The 9th Regiment will send to Major Gordon, the number of men which can be given for the Works tomorrow. The 62nd to furnish Parties for Fascines till noon tomorrow.

Major Bolton Field Officer for the Night.

G. O. September 9th, 1776.

The Detachment of the 29th to parade at Evening Roll calling when Major General Phillips will review them.

MORNING GENERAL ORDERS.

Parole—St. Valentine. C. S.—Ticonderoga.

The Countersign will be given to Major Harnage who is Field Officer for this Night.

The Order is repeated not to give Rum to the Indians; it is requested Officers will endeavour to prevent this, and on seeing Indians among the Tents will examine whether they get Liquor.

The Duty and Piquets as usual.

The 62nd gives a Working Party tomorrow.

The 9th makes Fascines.

Major General Phillips will be absent from St. John's untill Gun firing.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will remain in Camp.

By the Commander in Chief. [Gen Carleton.]

G. O. Chamblée, September 10th, 1776.

The different Corps may send such Baggage, as is not intended to cross the Lakes, to Montreal without Delay.

Let 26 Boats a Battalion be delivered to the 9th, 21st, 31st, 53rd, 62nd: they must be marked and numbered, and kept in Order, to proceed at an Hour's notice.

Major General Redhazel will make a Demand necessary to embark the left Wing. Brigadier General Frazer will also make a Demand for the Boats necessary for his Corps, which shall be sent him.

The 34th will take their Boats at Sorel, and proceed up the River in them to Chamblée, as Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger shall direct.

fy. Major General Riedesel is, of course, the person alluded to in the text. The proper pronunciation of his name is Re-day-sel, with accent on the second syllable.

G. O. *St. John's, 11th September, 1776.*

Parole—St. Athanasius. *C. S.*—Esopus.

All Children belonging to the Army that crosses the Lakes, or are in Distress, shall be taken care of at Montreal.

The different Corps will send in a Return to the Adjutant General, as soon as may be, of the Number the Parents propose sending there, that suitable Accommodations may be provided for them.

G. O. *St. John's, 12th September, 1776.*

Parole—St. Juis. *C. S.*—New York.

Guards and Working Parties as usual.

G. O. *St. John's, 13th September, 1776.*

Parole—St. Jacob. *C. S.*—Philadelphia.

The Regiments when their Batteaux are delivered them, are to embark Officers and Men, in order to make Trial whether the Number be sufficient or greater than is necessary, and are to report thereupon to Major General Phillips. An Evening and Morning Gun will be fired by the Carleton at 9 at Night, and at Daybreak in the Morning.

There being reason to suspect that some of the Soldiers sell their Allowance of Rum to the Indians, it is ordered that all Rum, drawn for Soldiers in Camp, be mixed with Water, under the Inspection of an Officer before they receive it.

G. O. St. John's, 14th September, 1776.

Parole—St. Matthew. C. S.—Quebec.

All the Batteaux are, according to former Orders, to be forwarded to St. John's, at which Place being put into the State necessary for the Army, will be delivered to the several Regiments, by the Quarter Master General, who will give notice when the Quarter Master of Corps may receive them.

No Corps is on any Account to retain any Batteaux before the general Distribution is made, this order to be forwarded to St. John's from Regiment to Regiment as quick as possible.

G. O. St. John's, 15th September, 1776.

Parole—St. Judith. C. S.—Bristol.

All the Horses of the neighbouring Parishes being wanted for the Service of the Army, it is hoped that Officers will complete all their

private Business by Tuesday next, as after that Day no Horses, Calashes, or Carriages can be allowed to any Person.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton is appointed to the Inspection of the 1st Brigade during the Illness of Brigadier General Nesbitt.

Orders by Major General Phillips.

G. O. *St. John's, 16th September, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Maria. C. S.—Windsor.

The Duty at St. John's to be directly by Battalions. The 29th Battalion to take the Guards and Piquets in their Turn. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton will regulate the Duty.

G. O. *St. John's, 17th September, 1776.*

Parole.—St. Ann. C. S.—Boston.

Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton having the Command of the First Brigade, during the Illness of Brigadier General Nesbitt, need not alter his present Encampment, but Brigade report will be made to him at Husill's house, and the Regiments of other Brigades at St. John's are also to report to Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton.

The 29th Regiment gives the Duty for this Night, but the Day after tomorrow, will take a Part of Duty only, as will be regulated by Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton.

The 9th and 62nd for the Works tomorrow.

G. O. *St. John's, 18th September, 1776.*

Parole—St. Christian. C. S.—Lebanon.

The 29th Regiment are to embark on board the Carleton, tomorrow Morning at 7 o'clock, one of their weakest Companies, and if there is such commanded by one Subaltern, they are to take the upper Redoubt Guard this Evening, the General's Guard, New work and Batteaux Guards tomorrow Evening, and to continue to take those Guards alternately, till further Orders. The 9th and 62nd Regiments will take the remainder of the Guards and Piquets by turns, the 62nd for this Duty to night. The 9th and 29th for the Works tomorrow.

The Captain of the Piquet, and Officer of the lower Redoubt Guard, will report to Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton at 12 o'clock; he will always be found at the Mess house of the 9th Regiment.

A Garrison Court Martial tomorrow morning
at 11 o'clock.

Detail.	C.	S. ^{ft}
9th	1.	1.
21st		1.
29th		1.
62nd		1.
		<hr/>
		1. 4.

G. O.

Major Nairn *ga* Commanding in Montreal is
to order an Officer of his Regiment to take

fo. C. is an abbreviation for Captain,
and S. for Subaltern.

ga. John Nairne became a lieutenant in the 63d, afterwards the 78th Foot, or Second Highland Battalion, (Fraser's Highlanders) July 16, 1757, was promoted to a captaincy April 4, 1761, and served in America. His regiment was reduced at the peace of 1763, and he went upon half-pay. When his old regimental commander, Major General Simon Fraser, raised the 71st Foot for service in America, Capt. Nairne received a commission dated Nov. 27, 1775, as a lieutenant in the First Battalion.¹ He probably never served under this commission as he was then in Canada aiding to form the Royal Highland Emigrants, and the 71st was being formed in Scotland. Be that as it may, however, he rendered excellent service to the crown in the defence of Quebec when besieged by Gen. Montgomery and Benedict Arnold, and his loyalty was rewarded by government

with the grant of a considerable tract of land.² His appointment as a captain in the First Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants dated from June 14, 1775, and that was the date of his commission, when, three years later, the regiment was received into the British establishment, and numbered as the 84th. He served in Canada throughout our Revolutionary war, and in September, 1776, was in command at Montreal.³ He became a major in the army Aug. 29, 1777,⁴ and Sir Frederick Haldimand, the British commander in chief in Canada, ordered him to do duty as a major Aug. 15, 1778.⁴ Sir Frederick's high opinion of Major Nairne appears in a letter he wrote to Lord George Germaine, dated Oct. 14, 1778, in which he says:—"At the departure of Lt. Col. McLean" (who had gone to Europe on a leave of absence) "the command of his Battalion fell to a Capt. Nairne, a very old officer, and who distinguished himself very much at the siege of Quebec,

charge of the Soldiers of the different Corps, as they are discharged the Hospital in that Place, until they are ordered to join their respective Corps or Detachments.

This Officer is to see they are lodged in the Barracks, and that they attend Parades duly, and behave orderly : he is to have Power to draw upon the Paymasters of the Regiments to which the Soldiers belong, for their Subsistence, which is to be paid them, if necessary, from the time of their quitting the Hospital, and each Brigade is to send a careful Noncommissioned Officer to attend the General Hospital, to take care of the men of their Brigade there, their Arms and Accoutrements, and Necessaries, and to receive Orders from the Officer abovementioned.

By Major General Phillips.

G. O. St. John's, 19th September, 1776.

Parole—St. Sophia. C. S.—Three Rivers.

The Regiments to make fresh Necessary Houses, and are to fill up all the old Ones.

on which account and to prevent the mortification to him of being commanded occasionally by Majors of Provincials I have given him the nominal rank of Major till further orders."³ Aug. 31, 1780, Sir Frederick Haldimand assigned Major Nairne to the command of the corps of royalists lately commanded by Major Daniel McAlpine, deceased.⁴ He became the major of the 53d Foot Oct. 4, 1780, then serving in Canada, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army Feb. 19,

1783. He sold out to Capt. Robert Matthews Sept. 22, 1783, and retired from the army.¹ He continued to live in Canada, and on, or about July 26, 1787, Lord Dorchester, then governor-general of Canada, appointed him a lieutenant-colonel in the British militia for the city and banlieu of Quebec.⁷ The date of his death has not been ascertained. [¹B. H. ²J. Z. 24, note. ³F. E. 44. ⁴F. E. 107. ⁵F. H. 29. ⁶F. E. 139. ⁷J. U.]

The Commanding Officers to send round the Camp, to have all the Earth filled into any Holes about it, and to render the Camp as Clean and Healthy as possible for the Corps, which are to march in upon the present Camp moving.

A certain quantity of Junk will be delivered to the 9th, 29th, and 62nd Regiments, which they are to pick and make into Oakum, and for which they will be paid four Shillings Halifax per Hundred; when done Lieutenant Dysart of the Artillery is to be acquainted.

G. O. St. John's, 20th September, 1776.

Parole—St. Cecilia. C. S.—Virginia.

Brigade Orders.

Major General Phillips orders that those men, who are incapable of serving the Campaign be sent to the General Hospital at Montreal, and he hopes the Number will be very few; the Sick of the Regimental Hospital will be left according to Directions which will be given. Every Man is to immediately join his Company, and no man is to be employed on any Pretence whatever, but those who work as Artificers; the Officers are to observe that Orders having been given relating to Servants, that it be strictly adhered to, and

the Servants are to do their Duty in Action, and to be considered as part of the Effective.

As little Baggage to be taken on the Lakes, as possible; the Winter Clothes, Caps &c. &c. now working up for the Men to be very carefully packed and preserved, that whenever the Army halts, that work may go on. The remaining Hessian Artillery at Chamblée to march to St. John's on Sunday next. Captain Borthwick's Company with the Artillery at Chamblée to march on next Wednesday, the Laboratory will remain till further Orders.

Fire Master and Quarter Master to fit out the Radeau, and armed Boats, and will receive their Orders from the Major General; when they are completed the Detachment will be ordered on Board. As every man left the Transports with a Rug or Blankets, the Commanding Officers of Companies are to examine the men to see they have Blankets—those who have lost, or made away with any, are to have them bought at Montreal, and charged to their Expence; this Order to be most strictly observed. The Sea Bedding and Bolsters, are to remain in Store, on Board of the Ships, until ordered for Winter Quarters. The Companies are to take all the Watch Coats; a return of the Number to be made to the Major General.

G. O. St. John's, 21st September, 1776.
Parole — St. Agatha. C. S.— Carolina.

G. O. *St. John's, 22nd September, 1776.*
Parole — St. Bridget. C. S.— Georgia.

The 47th Regiment is to march, and to take up its Ground at St. John's, as soon as convenient ; the Brigades are reminded of the non commissioned Officers, which by the Order of the 18th Instant, are to be sent to attend the general Hospital at Montreal.

G. O. St. John's, 23rd September, 1776.
Parole — St. Lucretia. C. S.— Florida.

Brigade Orders by Major General Phillips.

As soon as the Quarter Master reports that the Radeau is ready to receive the men, Captains Mitchelson and Hosmer will go on board, and regulate how the Men may be best disposed of. All the Men of the Two Companies are to be on board, including the Additional, except twenty four Men from each, and forty of the Additional.

The Hessian Artillery will furnish fifty men. There will be also two Companies of the 29th Regiment on board, so that the Radeau will be

prepared for three Hundred men ; half of whom must be supposed on Deck all night. The Stern will be for the Officers, and the forepart for the Sailors.

G. O.

Chamblée.

Frazer's Brigade will move forward, and take post at the River La-Colle, the 26th in the morning, the 1st Brigade under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, will occupy the Isle aux Noix, and the Brunswickers under the Command of Major General Redhazel with the 62nd Regiment, will occupy the Post at, and near St. John's; at the same time let those Corps, who want Boats apply to Major General Phillips. The Commissary General will send a proper Person, forthwith, to the Isle aux Noix, to see that Provisions are prepared for the Troops that advance.

A Court consisting of Five Captains of the Artillery, and 20th Regiment to enquire into the Circumstances of the Fire, which happened to a Barn in Chamblée, and of the Robbery committed at the Fort last Night, is to sit to-morrow at the House of the Person whose Barn was burnt, and to report their Proceedings to the Deputy Adjutant General.

A List of the Officer's Names with their Rank in the Regiment and Army to be sent into the Deputy Adjutant General as soon as possible.

Captain Lieutenant Power of the 20th Regiment having been promoted by his Majesty to a Company in the same Regiment in the room of Major Macdonald. *gb*

gb. John Macdonell's manner of spelling his name indicates that he belonged to the Lochgarry branch of the clan Macdonald, which was the case.¹ He was commissioned Jan. 13, 1757, as a captain in Fraser's Highlanders, known also, at different times, as the Second Highland Battalion, the 63d, and the 78th Foot.² This regiment proceeded to America in June, 1757, and took part in the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, and the battle on the Heights of Abraham in 1759, where Capt. Macdonell was wounded through both thighs. The next year the regiment participated in the battle of Sillery, or St. Foy, and, in 1762, in an expedition to retake St. John's, Newfoundland.³ At the peace of 1763 Fraser's Highlanders were reduced, and Capt. Macdonell went upon half-pay, but returned to active service again Dec. 23, 1771, as a captain in the 20th Foot. He became a major in the army July 23, 1774, and the major of the First Battalion of the 71st Foot (Fraser's Highlanders) Nov. 23, 1775.⁴

Fraser's Highlanders bore different numbers during different wars. Simon Fraser, son of the Lord Lovat that was executed in 1745, was commissioned Jan. 5, 1757, as lieutenant-colonel commandant of Fraser's Highlanders, which he had been authorized to raise among his clansmen. This organization was first designated as the Second Highland Battalion; then it was numbered in the

Army List of 1758 as the 63d; and in a later edition of the same work for that year, as the 78th Foot. Its uniform was the full Highland garb, and the regiment saw much service in America. At the peace of 1763 a number of the officers and men settled in America, the remainder being returned to Scotland, as the regiment was then disbanded, the officers being put upon half-pay. Upwards of 300 of these men that had remained in America, enlisted in the Royal Highland Emigrants in 1775. Lieut.-Col. Fraser, who had been promoted to be a colonel in the army Feb. 19, 1762, and major-general May 25, 1772, was, on Oct. 25, 1775, commissioned colonel of the 71st Foot, a new regiment of two battalions, which he had been authorized to raise among the Highland clans for service in America during our Revolutionary war, and which was also known as Fraser's Highlanders. Gen. Fraser became a lieut.-general Aug. 29, 1777, and, at the peace of 1783, his regiment was disbanded.⁵ This officer, by some writers has been confused with his kinsman of the same name, who was one of Burgoyne's brigadiers.⁴

Major Macdonell's regiment proceeded to America shortly after its organization and bore an active part in many actions during the Revolutionary war.⁵ Letters of service were granted in December, 1777, to Lord Macdonald, to raise a regi-

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to appoint Captain Lieutenant Farquhar^{gc} to be Captain of a Company in the room of Major Carleton promoted, and Lieutenant Baillie^{gd} of

ment in the Highlands and isles, of which corps his lordship was offered the command; but he declined the commission though he exerted his influence in the formation of the corps; and on his recommendation Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment, which was numbered as the 76th, and known as Macdonald's Highlanders.⁶ John Macdonell's regimental commission as lieutenant-colonel commandant bore date Dec. 25, 1777, though he had been brevetted lieutenant-colonel on the 29th of the preceding August.⁷ Upon being commissioned in the 76th, Lieut.-Col. Macdonell, who was then in America with Fraser's Highlanders, embarked for England; but he was captured on his passage home, and so did not serve at all with his corps, which went to America and ended its active service with Cornwallis' surrender, in which it was included. It returned to Scotland and was disbanded in 1784⁸, when Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell went upon half-pay and never again returned to active service. He became a colonel in the army Nov. 20th, 1782⁹, and died in 1789.¹⁰ [*Q.* 728. ¹⁰B. H. ⁹B. J. 249-261; D. L. 24. ⁸M. A. 223-226. ⁷B. J. 262 *et post.* ⁶B. J. 297, 298; F. Y. 241 *et post.*]

^{gc}. William Farquhar's first commission in the British army, that we are able to trace, is that of a lieutenant in the 47th Foot, Sept. 25, 1759, which regiment was then serving in America. As he was attached to one of the additional companies, reduced at the peace of 1763, he then went upon half-pay. He returned to active service

May 3, 1765, as a lieutenant of the 56th Foot, then at Gibraltar. He became captain of a company in the 20th Foot May 13, 1776, and served with his regiment in Canada and on Burgoyne's expedition, receiving a wound at the battle of Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19, 1777. He became a major in the army March 19, 1783, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1794.¹ [*B. H.* : G. V. 175-]

^{gd}. Alexander Baillie entered the British Army as an ensign in the 62d, afterwards the 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, December 9th, 1756.¹ He served through the French war, and was present with the 1st Battalion of his regiment at the unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga, July 8th, 1758, where he was wounded.² He was promoted to a lieutenancy July 27th, 1758; but in 1763, soon after the declaration of peace, the 3d and 4th Battalions of the 60th were reduced, and he went upon half-pay, where he remained until November 29th, 1771, when he was commissioned a 1st lieutenant in the 21st Foot, or Royal North British Fusiliers, then serving in North America. He became a captain in the 9th Foot September 23d, 1776; a major in the army November 18th, 1790; the major of his regiment February 17th, 1794, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army March 1st, 1794. His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1795.³

There was another contemporary Alexander Baillie, who became an ensign in the 1st, or Royal Regiment of Foot, in 1756, a lieutenant in the 2d Battalion of that regiment, then serving

the 21st Regiment is appointed Captain Lieutenant in the 9th Regiment in the room of Captain Lieutenant Fraser, who remains in the 20th Regiment.

G. O. *St. John's, 24th September, 1776.*

Parole — St. Eliza. C. S. — Louisiana.

The 31st Regiment will march tomorrow to St. John's, and encamp on the Ground marked for them by Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton.

The Detachments which are to be left behind from the First and Second Brigades, will remain where the Regiments now are but to prepare to remove on Sunday next to Chamblée, and encamp there, Orders for which will be given by Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger. The Officers of each Regiment commanding the Detachments are to meet Lieutenant Colonel St. Léger on

in America, February 2, 1757, and a captain therein Nov. 30, 1761. He exchanged with Capt. Hugh Montgomery into the half-pay of the 78th Foot, Fraser's Highlanders; and he became Fort Major of Fort George (near Inverness) in 1775, a major in the army August 29, 1777, and a lieutenant-colonel therein February 19, 1783.¹ He was gazetted a captain in Lord Strathaven's corps April 8, 1783², an infantry organization then recently raised, but which saw no active service, as it was reduced soon after the peace of 1783, when Capt. Baillie went upon half-pay. He became

the captain of an independent company of Invalids, at Guernsey, March 12th, 1789, and on October 20th of the next year the captain of an independent company of Invalids, at Jersey. His company was soon after reduced, notwithstanding which he was continued on full pay; and from December 25th, 1790, until his death in 1814, he received full pay without holding any command. He became a colonel in the army March 1, 1794, and at his death, twenty years later, he was the fourth colonel on the List.¹ [¹B. H. ²H. E. 176. ³H. Q. 338.]

Saturday next at 10 o'clock at Head Quarters at Chamblée. The 24th and 29th Regiments are not included in this Order, as they are to take their Effectives on the Lake.

Lieutenant Beacroft *ge* of the 24th Regiment,
Lieutenant Vallency *gf* of the 62nd, and Lieu-

ge. Richard Beacroft was commissioned as an ensign in the 24th Foot, then in Germany, May 22, 1761, and was promoted to a lieutenancy Feb. 13, 1766, the 24th meanwhile having been transferred to Gibraltar. He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, where he served that year under Gen. Carleton, and the next year participated in Burgoyne's campaign. The fact that he was detailed as an assistant engineer Sept. 24, 1776, and so acted during the remainder of that year, and the following one, is strong proof that he was an officer of merit. Upon Burgoyne's campaign he was left as an assistant engineer at Ticonderoga, and in the American attack on that fort and Mount Independence Sept. 18, 1777, he, with the artificers in arms, in the Half Moon Battery, prevented the Americans from surrounding the fort. His gallantry in this affair was recognised by his commanding officer, Gen. Powell, and Oct. 8, 1777, he was promoted to a captaincy. When the garrison was withdrawn from Ticonderoga, after Burgoyne's surrender, Capt. Beacroft retired to Canada with the remaining British troops, where he served as an assistant engineer until June 18, 1779, when, at his own request, he was allowed to return to England. June 20, 1781, he was commissioned as captain of one of the new independent companies, some of which were regimented in the autumn of that year, as the 101st Foot, his among the number; and his commission

in that regiment bore date Sept. 22, 1781. The 101st was disbanded in 1783, after the conclusion of peace, and Capt. Beacroft went upon half-pay, where he remained as long as his name appeared on the Army Lists; it appearing last in 1795. [B. H. F. H. 114: E. Z.]

gf. George Preston Vallancy was commissioned Sept. 1, 1771, as a lieutenant in the 62d Foot, then in Ireland.¹ He accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and on the 24th of September of that year he was appointed an assistant engineer. The next year he accompanied Burgoyne's expedition, and May 5th, 1777, he was appointed to act as an assistant quartermaster-general.² He served through Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in that unfortunate officer's surrender. Oct. 21, 1777, he was sent by Burgoyne to New York with dispatches for Sir William Howe, stopping on his return at Washington's headquarters, which he left Nov. 12th. The American commander in chief must have treated the young British officer with much consideration, as Gen. Heath in writing to Gen. Washington from Boston, Nov. 26, 1777, says: "Gen'l Burgoyne is much pleased with your Treatment of Lieut. Vallancy which he says was Polite and noble."³ Vallancy's name is signed to the Cambridge Parole, and he appears to have been a witness against the American Colonel Henley on the trial of Burgoyne's famous charges by

tenant Wintersmidt^{gg} of the Brunswicks, together with Captain Lawe, are appointed assistant Engineers, under Major Gordon.

Mr. George Reade, Mr. Daniel Davids^{gh} Gentlemen Cadets in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, sent out by the King's Command to serve in Canada, are appointed to act as 2nd Lieutenants in the Corps of Artillery, as is Mr. Merida, a Volunteer in that Corps to the same.

Captain O'Connell^{gi} of the Brunswick

court martial against that officer. He was commissioned as adjutant of his regiment Oct. 12, 1777, his successor having been commissioned April 6, 1782, though he was promoted to be captain-lieutenant and captain Aug. 18, 1778.ⁱ At the peace of 1783 the additional companies of the 62d Foot were reduced and Capt. Vallancy exchanged with the captain of one of them and went upon half-pay, where he remained until May 31, 1787, when he was commissioned as a captain in the 46th Foot, with which regiment he served till he disappeared from the Army Lists, his name appearing last in 1791.^j [*B. H.* 2F. E. 49, 69. *H. I.* 66: F. P: K. M. 193, 227.]

gg. Lieut. Gottfried Jul Winterschmidt belonged to the Brunswick Grenadier Battalion commanded by Lieut.-Col. Breymann. He deserted from his battalion in 1779. [*K. N.* 267.]

gh. Daniel Davids entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet, July 21, 1772. He was appointed a 2d lieutenant in the Royal Artillery Feb. 21, 1777, and a 1st lieutenant July 7, 1779. He served

through the Burgoyne campaign, and was included in the Saratoga Convention. He must have been exchanged the next year, as his name appears on the list of Sir Henry Clinton's Artillery Officers in 1779. He died at Quebec Jan. 18, 1787. [*G. U:* H. B.]

gi. Capt. Laurentius O'Connell, of the Brunswick Guards, an Irishman, and a subject of Great Britain, arrived at Quebec Sept. 21, 1776, with the second division of German troops sent over that year to re-inforce Sir Guy Carleton; and as he came over to serve on Riedesel's staff he reported for duty at that general's headquarters four days later. He accompanied his chief on Burgoyne's campaign in 1777, and was sent as an interpreter with Baum on his disastrous expedition to Bennington, where he was made a prisoner. In January, 1778, he was confined at Woburn, Mass., and in the middle of the following June he received permission from Congress to return to Europe on parole. Riedesel took this opportunity to send his dispatches to his court, and also the German flags which he had clandestinely saved at the surrender at Saratoga. For some unknown reason the captain left the flags

Guards is appointed Aide de Camp to Major General Reidesel, and he is to be obeyed as such.

St. John's, 25th.

Parole—St. Helena & Detroit.

St. John's, 26th.

Parole—St. Charlotte. C. S.—Michilimacine.

Chamblé, 27th.

St. Ruth and Oswego.

St. John's, 28th.

St. Eugenia and Oswegatchie.

Isle aux Noix, 29th.

P.—St. Beatrix. and C. S.—The Cedars.

Isle aux Noix, 30th September.

P.—St. Margarite. C. S.—La Galette.

Isle aux Noix, October 1st.

Parole—St. Charles and Windsor.

Isle aux Noix, October 2nd.

Parole—Ferdinand and Magdeburg.

in Rhode Island, and they were afterwards carried to Canada by Lieut.-Col. Speth. Capt. O'Connel died in 1819, as a pensioned lieutenant-colonel, in Ireland. [C. N.; K. M. 66, 135, 231, 249, 255; K. N. 28, 265.]

Isle aux Noix, October 3rd.*Parole*—Charles and Brunswick.*Isle aux Noix*, October 4th, 1776.*Parole*—Charles and Brunswick.

A Disposition being made for the Army to proceed in search of the Enemy, the Commander in Chief takes the occasion to thank Major General Phillips, and all his Department, for the Zeal and Activity with which the preparations have been concluded, and likewise Captain Douglas^{aj} for the cheerful and great assistance

gj. Sir Charles Douglas was a Scotchman, and was lineally descended from one of the Earls of Morton, though there seems to be some confusion as to which one.¹ The *Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 59, part 1, p. 276, says, that Sir Charles was originally in the Dutch service, and that it was not without some difficulty that he was able to obtain rank in the English navy. Fullom², the biographer of Sir Howard Douglas, Sir Charles' youngest son, makes no mention of Sir Charles having been in the Dutch service, but states that at one time during his naval career, upon the recommendation of the British government, he was employed in organizing the navy of Russia, which he succeeded in placing on a good footing before his return to England.

He became a lieutenant in the British navy Dec. 4, 1753, and a commander Feb. 24, 1759. He was promoted to be a post-captain March 13, 1761, and was at once appointed to the command of the *Syren* of 20 guns. In this ship he proceeded under Lord Colville to Newfoundland to disperse M. de Ternay's French fleet and to recover that

island. The *Syren* attended the transports and covered the landing of Lieut.-Colonel Amherst and his troops, a duty Capt. Douglas very diligently preformed.³

In 1767 he assumed command of the *Emerald* frigate of 32 guns, and in her the next year made an expedition to the North Cape of Lapland to observe the transit of Venus.⁴ Towards the close of 1770 he was commissioned to the *St. Albans*, of 64 guns, and in 1775 to the *Isis*, of 50 guns, in which latter vessel he proceeded, in the spring of 1776, with several other men of war and a convoy, to Canada, to relieve Sir Guy Carleton then beleagured at Quebec. Fullom⁵ thus refers to Sir Charles' activity in equipping his ships for sea and in navigating them to their destination. "Capt. Douglas worked day and night to hasten the equipment of the ships, and the Admiralty urged him to even greater exertion. 'For God's sake, get the *Isis* down to Blackstake the next spring-tide,' wrote Lord Sandwich, the First Lord; 'Your being ready to leave early in February is of the utmost importance to the public service. I think the fate of Quebec depends upon

afforded from the Naval Department. Captain Pringle, Captain Dacres, and Captain Shanks and Stark of the Navy, and Lieutenant Twiss of the Corps of Engineers, deserve particular distinction in this acknowledgment, it being to the indefatigable Attention of these Gentlemen that the surprisingly expeditious advancement of the important Works carried on is greatly owing.

it.⁶ The squadron sailed at the appointed time, and the beginning of April found it on the coast of Newfoundland, waiting for the breaking up of the ice to make for the St. Lawrence. But Capt. Douglas was not content to wait long. There seemed no prospect of the navigation opening, and he knew that Quebec must be in the last extremity, and subjected to repeated assaults. It occurred to him that he might drive his ship through the ice, and he took advantage of a rising gale to put her before the wind, and run against a block twelve feet thick as an experiment. The shock had a greater effect than he expected, crumbling the ice in pieces. 'We now,' he says in his despatch to Mr. Stephens, 'thought it an enterprise worthy of an English ship of the line in our King and Country's sacred cause, and an effort due to the gallant defence of Quebec, to make the attempt of pressing her by force of sail through the thick, broad, and closely connected fields of ice (as formidable as the Gulf of St. Lawrence ever exhibited), to which we saw no bounds.' The frozen tract was found to extend sixty leagues; but he persevered in his design, undeterred by gales and snowstorms and innumerable perils and accidents, and nine days of unwearied labour brought the ship to open water. Here she was joined by the 'Surprise' and 'Martin,'

which had followed in her track; and the little squadron entered the St. Lawrence under a heavy fall of snow." Sir Charles' arrival in the basin of Quebec, the 6th of May, at once raised the siege;⁸ and he immediately became commodore of the British fleet in the St. Lawrence.⁷

Jan. 23, 1777, soon after his return to England, he was created a baronet in recognition of his important service in relieving Quebec.⁸ Fullum says "His activity excited the wonder of his Russian friends, as they were aware that the death of a relative had brought him an independence, and he had refused the most tempting offers to remain in Russia. Admiral Greig wrote to him from St. Petersburg in 1777, 'I have just been dining with Count Panin, who inquired after you with professions of great esteem and regard. He said that he was surprised to find that you still served at home, after having declined service here, from the easy and affluent fortune bequeathed to you. I told him I did not imagine any change of fortune or circumstances would make you decline the service of your native country, whenever your services were required.'⁹ March 18, 1777, the Stirling Castle, of 64 guns, was put into commission, and Sir Charles was appointed to command her.¹⁰ This ship was the slowest sailer of the fleet, being in the nautical parlance of that day, a haystack; but her commander managed

✓ Provisions may be drawn for the Women of the different Regiments, not exceeding 16 per Battalion or 2 per Company, but these Rations are to be accounted and paid for to the Pay-Master General in like manner for those of the Soldiers and others.

to get her up so as to participate in Admiral Keppel's great victory over the French fleet off Ushant, July 27, 1778, she being in the division of Sir Robert Harland, Vice-Admiral of the Red.¹¹ In the memorable courts martial of Admiral Keppel and Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, growing out of that naval engagement, Sir Charles was a witness.¹² Soon after this action, upon Capt. Brereton of the Duke, of 98 guns, being dismissed for misconduct, Sir Charles was appointed to the command of that ship, and served in the channel fleet. In the Duke he applied his mechanical ability to improving the serving of guns, by using locks instead of matches, and to such good purpose that the improvement was universally adopted throughout the navy.¹³

Upon the death of Lord Rodney's favorite officer, Capt. Young, Sir Charles Douglas was recommended by the Lords of the Admiralty as a fit successor; and accordingly, in 1781, he became first captain of the Formidable, the flagship of Lord Rodney, the commander in chief on the West India station. As captain of the fleet, an officer whose functions nearly correspond with those of adjutant-general of an army, he distinguished himself in the engagement with the Count de Grasse on the 9th and 12th of April, 1782; and to his advice and assistance, it is said, the commander in chief attributed no small share of the success achieved. The claim of Sir Charles' credit of breaking the line in this action is put forward by his son, Major General

Sir Howard Douglas, who gives the statement of Sir Charles Dashwood, an aide de camp to the commander in chief, though then only a boy of 13 years. If that letter is worthy of credit Sir Charles Douglas is entitled to the honor of being instrumental in breaking the French line.¹⁴ Sir Charles when pressed upon the subject, always replied—"We had a great deal to do, Sir; and I believe you will allow we did a great deal." Lord Rodney thus spoke of him in public dispatches:—"My own Captain, Sir Charles Douglas merits everything I can possibly say: his unremitting diligence and activity greatly eased me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day."

The manner in which Sir Charles met the attempts of some to detract from Lord Rodney's fame by attributing an undue share of the credit of the victory to Sir Charles himself, is best shown in a letter to Major Gen. Mundy from Sir Gilbert Blanc, who was Lord Rodney's medical attendant, and accompanied him in the action of April 12, 1782. Sir Gilbert says—"Sir Charles Douglas always, in so far as I ever heard him speak on the subject, rejected all compliments to himself at the expense of Lord Rodney. This is perhaps imprinted on my memory the deeper from what occurred after dinner one day at my house, when one of the company complimented Sir Charles on the superior share he had in the great victory. Sir Charles answered that he would accept of no compliment at the expense of Lord Rodney; and added the words I alluded

After G. O.

The Commander in Chief delayed to reprimand in Orders, the insolent, shameful, and ungrateful Clamour made at the Evening Parade of Tuesday last, by the 31st and 47th Regiments, in

to, namely, 'to tell the person who told him so to keep his breath to cool his pudding.'"¹⁵ The testimony of Richard Cumberland on this point, as contained in his Memoirs, page 170, is as follows—"My friend, Sir Charles Douglas, captain of the fleet confessed to me that he himself had been adverse to the experiment, and in discussing it with the admiral had stated his objections; to these he got no other answer but that 'his counsel was not called for; he required obedience only, he did not want advice.'" The same writer adds in the Supplement, page 329, this further statement—"I must also beg leave to add that my friend Sir Charles Douglas, upon his return to England, expressly declared to me that the merit of cutting the French line, rested entirely with his admiral, and that his own opinion ever went against it." Cumberland also relates this anecdote, page 170—"Sir Charles also told me that whilst this project was in operation"—viz., that of forcing the enemy's line—"the battle then raging, his own attention being occupied by the gallant defence made by the *Glorieux* against the ships that were pouring their fire into her, upon his crying out, 'Behold, Sir George, the Greeks and Trojans contending for the body of Patroclus!' the admiral then pacing the deck in great agitation, finding the experiment of the manoeuvre, which, in the instance of one ship, had unavoidably miscarried, peevishly exclaimed, 'D—n the Greeks, and d—n the Trojans! I have other

things to think of.' When in a few minutes later, the supporting ship having led through the French line in a gallant style, turning with a smile of joy to Sir Charles Douglas, he cried out, 'Now my dear friend, I am at the service of your Greeks and Trojans, and the whole of Homer's *Iliad*, or as much of it as you please; for the enemy is in confusion, and our victory is secure.'"¹⁵

In October, 1783, Sir Charles hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Assistance*, of 50 guns, in which ship he proceeded to assume the chief command on the Nova Scotia station, but getting disgusted at some proceedings of the Admiralty and Naval Boards, he begged to be recalled;¹⁶ and consequently he was relieved by Commodore Herbert Sawyer the next year.¹⁷ The *Georgian Era*, vol. 2, p. 506, says he was not relieved until 1786. Sept. 24, 1787, during the preparations for war, Sir Charles was promoted to be rear-admiral of the Blue,¹⁸ and about a month before his death he was again appointed to go to Nova Scotia as commander in chief.

He died March 10, 1789. One account says he fell in a fit of apoplexy as he was entering a public meeting at Edinburgh, and instantly expired. His son's biographer, however, gives this relation of his last illness: "In the spring of 1789 Sir Charles Douglas was appointed commander in chief on a foreign station and hoisted his flag at Portsmouth, when he paid a hasty visit to Scotland, to bring away Howard (his

hopes, and in expectation that the Displeasure he expressed to the Commanding Officers of those Corps, with his Orders to communicate the same immediately to the Officers of Companies, would have produced such visible and equal marks of Contrition, as might have justified him in suffering the matter to rest thenceforward in Silence. His Excellency has been in some measure disappointed, and he has therefore in justice to both Regiments, left it in charge to take public notice of the difference of their behaviour.

son), and take him on board his own ship to sea. He arrived at Musselburg in the midst of the excitement caused by the recovery of George III from his first illness, and intended to take part in the rejoicing, but a sudden attack of illness confined him to his room. This was not allowed to interfere with the enjoyment of his children, and they went to a juvenile ball at a neighbour's, given in honor of the occasion. It is indicative of the thoughtful kindness inherent in Howard that he ran over from the dance to see his father several times during the evening. He found him complaining of pain in the head, and saw that he was disturbed by the glare of the illumination, which he proposed to shut out by darkening the window. "God forbid that my window should be the first darkened on such a night as this!" said the old Admiral, showing his ruling passion of loyalty strong in death; for these were his last words. He was seized with apoplexy during the night, and the morning found him dead."¹⁰

His first wife was a Dutch lady of rank who died in 1769, and who bore him two sons and a daughter. His second wife was Mrs. Jane Wood, daughter of John Baillie, and by her he had another

son. Sir Charles was succeeded by his eldest son, William Henry, a vice admiral of the Blue; at whose death, in 1809, unmarried, the title devolved upon Sir Charles' son by his second wife, Howard, a lieutenant-general in the army, colonel of the 15th Foot, and governor of New Brunswick.¹

Sir Charles Douglas was an officer of much merit; indeed, Sir Gilbert Blane calls him the most enlightened and scientific officer with whom he was ever acquainted.¹⁹ Sir Charles, likewise possessed considerable mechanical ability, and he was so excellent a linguist that he spoke six languages with great correctness. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says, "Sir Charles was a very good, a very brave, and a very honest man."¹⁶ [1 B. R. : D. J. : D. N. 2. 4 D. N. 3. 3 E. V. 506 : A. T. 18, 43. 4 I. B. 324. 5 D. N. 4, 5. 6 H. 456. 7 H. F. 602. 8 B. R. 9 D. N. 6. 10 H. G. 270. 11 E. V. 506 : M. I. 147. 12 M. J. 121, 228. 13 D. Y. 277 : M. J. 333 : H. K. 74, 266. 14 D. N. 7-9 : B. Z. Z. 86 : B. Z. 540, Article on John Clerk. 15 I. G. 305. 16 E. V. 506 : D. Y. 277. 17 X. 214. 18 D. N. 14. 19 I. G. 231 20 F. O.]

The 47th Regiment have not ceased through their Commanding Officer to acknowledge their offence and to testify their penitence, and in such terms of Decency and respect, as make due atonement, and restore them to the good opinion they before deserved.

The 31st have not only been deficient in such representations, but the Lieutenant Colonel suffered Rum to be delivered, notwithstanding he had received an express prohibition upon the subject from the General's own mouth.

It is a painful necessity to include other Officers in this regimental Censure, but it can hardly be supposed, if the Subject of Rum had been properly explained, that men could be so devoid of Duty and Reason as to expect indulgencies never granted to any Army; absolutely impossible to be complied with in the present service, and were it otherwise, improper and prejudicial.

The Officers are required and ordered to make these truths known to the men, and those who want recollection are to be taught to reflect on the numerous and unprecedented favours already heaped upon this Army, by the King, their Countrymen at Home, and their own Officers.

The impression of just principles carefully instilled, soon becomes visible and certain, and Soldiers so prepared, will ever consider that Decency, Regularity, Subordination and respect

to their Officers, when out of Action, are the best and most honorable pledges they can offer to their Superiors for trusting to their hands, when they shall meet the Enemy, the Glory of His Majesty's Arms, and the Vindication of the Rights of Great Britain.

Rum will be allowed to the Regiments to Day, the 31st Regiment excepted.

Isle aux Noix, 5th October, 1776.

Parole—William and Stade.

The Brunswick and Hessian Troops will furnish Men for the Duties of the Island in proportion to their Numbers.

When the Regiments move they will carry in each Boat, at least fourteen Days Provision for the Number of Men the Boats contain. They will therefore prepare and accommodate their Baggage, so as to be sure of leaving Stowage for that essential Article.

All the Batteaux are to be examined immediately and such as are leaky to be reported.

The Quarter Master General and Camp Color Men of the British at the *Isle aux Noix* to be ready to go forward tomorrow Morning.

Camp at the Isle aux Noix, October 6th, 1776.

Parole—Phillip.

C. S.—Munster.

The Troops to receive Biscuit for to Day, instead of Bread and the British are besides to receive Bread and Provisions for tomorrow.

The Quarter Masters and Camp Color Men of the 1st Brigade, British, are to proceed to the Riviere La Colle this afternoon, to take up the Ground that shall be given for their respective Regiments by Captain Harrington, Assistant Quarter Master General.

The Brigade will load their Store of Provisions, according to the Orders of yesterday, this Evening, Bread excepted, which will be kept back till Morning to prevent its being damaged.

The British will beat the General, instead of the Reveillé at Daybreak tomorrow, and strike their Tents immediately. An Hour will be allowed for loading the Baggage, after which the Assembly will beat, and the Regiments embark.

The Brunswick and Hessian Troops will take the whole Guards of the Island at 5 o'clock this Evening.

Isle aux Noix, 7th October.

Parole—Henry and Hanover.

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Rivière à la Colle, 8th October.

Parole—Francis and Friezland.

Rivière à la Colle, 9th October.

Parole—Ignatius and Julien.

Rivière à la Collé, 10th October.

Parole—Lewis and Lorraine.

La Colle, 11th.

Moses and Moselle.

La Colle, 12th.

Parole—Stephen and Sweden.

La Pointe au Fer, 13th October.

Peter and Prussia.

Pointe au Fer, 14th.

Parole—Rodolph and Russia.

Isle à la Motte, 15th.

Parole—Lazarus and Lapland.

Pointe au Sable, October 16th, 1776.

Parole—Pius and Prague.

EVENING G. O.

[This is given in the Journal ante p. 30.]

Crown Point, 17th October, 1776.

Parole—Augustus and Austria.

It is the Commander in Chief's positive Orders that no Soldier or Follower of the Army do presume to molest any of the Inhabitants at Crown Point, or on either side of the Lake, in their Persons or Property; they are to be considered as British Subjects, who have already suffered much by the residence of a lawless Banditti amongst them. The inhabitants are well disposed to offer to all, whatever they can spare, and ready money is to be paid for it. Officers commanding Regiments are to give great attention in explaining these Orders to the Men, as his Excellency is determined to give directions to punish the transgression of them with the utmost Severity of Martial Law.

Crown Point, 18th.

Parole—Hughes and Hesse.

Crown Point, 19th.

Parole—Alexander and Aleppo.

*Sunday, 20th.**Parole*—Leopold and Lyons.

[Here follows a break in the Orders until June, 1777, but as the Orders in Burgoyne's Orderly Book begin June 20th, 1777, no order printed in that volume, or in Lieut. Hadden's Journal, will be printed here; and hence there will be many and, frequently, long breaks in the continuity of dates hereafter.—*Editor.*]

By Major General Phillips.

B. O. [Crown Point, June 30th, 1777.]^{gk}

The Regiments will strike Tents and put them on Board their Batteaux immediately on the General beating, and when the Assembly beats, they will embark. The Camp Guard will strike their Tents and join their respective Regiments a little before the Assembly beats.

Captain Hosmer's division of Gun Boats consisting of those left with the Army after Captain Mitchelson was detached from Crown Point, is to assemble afloat in the Gun Boats in the middle of the stream between Crown Point and Chimney Point at day break in the morning, and move between the two wings of the Army and as near with the heads of the Columns as possible.

^{gk}. The date of this Brigade Order is not given as it follows a General Order of the same place and date, which were doubtless intended to apply to this.

By reference to Hadden's Journal it will be seen that the British army, then at Crown Point, embarked July 1st, the day after the order in the text was issued.

When the Army encamps they will lay off at about one hundred yards advanced from the Line of Encampment and wait for orders. Should the water be too deep to anchor in the middle of the Channel, they are to divide in two divisions, one of which is to anchor on the West side at the head of the right wing of the Army; the other on the East shore at the head of the left wing, but to be prepared to land the Guns immediately.

(Signed) WM. PHILLIPS,
M. G.

Division Orders by Capt Hosmer.

The Guns to be got down to the water side and the Camp struck immediately and embark'd after Gun fire; the Guns to be put on board at two in the morning, and the Boats moved to the station assign'd them in the Brigade Orders of this day.

By Major General Phillips.

Extract of Brigade Orders. 1st July, 1777.

Major General Phillips is sorry he is under the Necessity of repeating what he thought would have been sufficiently impressed upon the Officers minds, that Fatigues and Difficulties would certainly attend this Campaign, but that he expected, and made no

doubt they would go through both with Cheerfulness, with Credit to themselves, and with due Obedience and Zeal for the King's Service.

The Major General desires the utmost Alertness & Dispatch in all the different Movements of the Army, and particularly upon coming to fresh Ground, and in á Campaign such as this, that Officers act, from their own lights, and not tediously wait for fresh Intelligence, and new Orders, in Matters which should go on from day to day; & it is to be observed that all Orders and Regulations are to be considered as Standing Orders, unless contradicted. He hopes no Officer during the present critical Situation of the Army be ever out of Camp unless upon Duty, & that they will every morning, as soon as it is light, reconnoitre, and become perfectly acquainted with the Ground all round their own Camp, and also as it bears towards any other of the Army.

The Major General does not wish to have it supposed that he is dissatisfied with the Corps he has the honor particularly to command, but they cannot but be sensible that some things have happened not quite to his satisfaction: he does assure them that when they give him Cause to Interest himself for their Credit and Honor, he will do it with indefatigable Zeal, and the most Cordial Friendship.

All orders to be most Carefully read to the men every day, and the particulars explained to them by an Officer.

By Major General Phillips.

Skeenesborough, 18 July.

A Captain's Guard to mount with the Colors of the eldest Regiment tomorrow morning upon the Congress with the Indian Nation.

It is Maj'r Gen'l Phillips most positive orders, that the Officers are in a particular manner attentive in the examination of Ammunition Carts upon a March, and whatever they find loaded in any of them, which is not a part of Artillery Proportion, it is to be taken out and burn'd, and the offender punished on the spot by the sentence of a Field Court Martial.

The Men are to carry their Knapsacks, Haversacks and Blankets as is usual with the Troops; their Tents and Poles will be put into Country Carts appointed for that use. The General and his Major of Brigade will also inspect the Line of March, and should any Officer (which can scarce be imagined) be neglectful of his Duty in these instances, he must expect without distinction to his Rank, to be brought to a Public examination.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Fort George, August 4th, 1777.

Captain Carter is appointed Commissary of Horses to the Royal Artillery: Lieutenants Dunbar and Rimington are to act as Assistant Commissaries till further Orders; Lieutenant Dunbar to have charge of the Brigades attached to the Wings of the Army and to the advanced Corps and German Reserve; Lieutenant Rimington^{gl} to have charge of the Brigades of the Park and all the Trains attending of it.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders. Fort Edward, August 7th, 1777.

Major General Phillips signifies to the Com-

gl. Samuel Rimington, enlisted as a private in the Royal Artillery in January, 1757; and after fourteen years service was commissioned as a 2d lieutenant March 5, 1771, in the First Battalion then in America. He belonged to the artillery detachment that served in Canada in 1776, and under Burgoyne in 1777. Aug. 4, 1777, by order of Gen. Phillips, he was appointed Assistant Commissary of Horses to the Royal Artillery, and had charge of the brigades of the Park of Artillery and all the trains attached to it. On the march of the army after crossing the Hudson, he was attached to the artillery of the Right Division. He was included in the Saratoga Convention and remained a prisoner until Sept. 3, 1781, when he was exchanged; after which he served in New York. During his captivity he was promoted to a first lieutenant, his commission bearing date July 7, 1779. He became a captain-lieutenant Dec. 1, 1782, and a captain March 24, 1791, his being No. 8 Company, 4th Battalion, now "E" Battery, 1st Brigade. He became a major in the army March 1, 1794; and a lieutenant-colonel therein Jan. 1, 1798; a major in the artillery July 13, 1799; and a lieutenant-colonel Nov. 12, 1800. He was transferred to the Invalid Battalion Feb. 10, 1802. He became a colonel in the army April 25, 1808, and a major-general June 4, 1811; and he was placed on major-general's pay June 25, 1814. He became a lieutenant-general July 19, 1821, and he died in January, 1826, leaving issue. [G. U: C. Z. 261: K. J. 64: E. Z: B. H: D. P. 113.]

manding Officers of Brigades, that he has *reason to suppose that the Ammunition and Canadian Carts* breaking down have been owing to their being overloaded, whereas the proportion of Ammunition and Stores for each does not amount to more than 800 *Weight*, a calculation which they will very well bear ; the overplus weight must therefore have been Baggage, or some other improper Loading ; and the Commanding Officers of Brigades must be sensible that nothing ought to be loaded upon Artillery Carriages, but such Stores as absolutely belong to the Service : it is the Major General's most positive Orders that the Officers are in a particular manner attentive in the Examination of the Ammunition Carts upon a March, and whatever they find loaded in any of them, which is not a part of the Artillery proportion it is to be taken out, a fire to be made, and such Baggage or Luggage is to be immediately burned ; and in order to prevent intirely any infraction of this order, the Officers are to make this inspection of Ammunition Carts very frequently in a Day's March, and whatever Non Commissioned Officer, Soldier, or Artificer, shall be detected in having put anything in an Ammunition Cart or Waggon, he is to be tried upon the Spot by a Field Regimental Court Martial, when it is not doubted but the most severe punishment will be inflicted ; and

the Major General does, in the most positive and direct manner, make the Commissioned Officers of Brigades and the other Officers answerable for strict Observance and due Obedience to this Order, that the King's Service may not suffer or be retarded from any motive of private Convenience, contrary to every Custom, and every strict Rule of Discipline and of Service.

The Men are to carry their Knapsacks, Haversacks, and Blankets as is usual with the Troops, but their Tents, Poles &c. are to be carried for them in Country Carts, a proportion of which is fixed to each Brigade.

Orders are given to the Major of Brigade to visit the Artillery on their March, and to report whether these regulations are adhered to, and the Major General will himself inspect the Order of the March, and if he finds any disobedience to this most serious, necessary and positive Order, he will, if a Non Commissioned Officer, or Soldier, order him to be punished on the Spot; if it should unfortunately happen (which can scarce be imagined) that an Officer should be in any Shape neglectful of his Duty in these Instances, he must expect without distinction to Person or Rank, to be brought to a public Examination.

G. O.

August 18th, 1777.^{gm}

It having been a practice for Officers to order to be taken from the Provision Train in the Service of the King for this Army, the Carts and Horses for carrying Baggage and other purposes, by which the Transport of Provisions has been destroyed, the Carts broken, and the Horses destroyed; to avoid for the future these dangerous inconveniences for the Service,^{gm} it is in the most positive manner ordered, that no Carts or Horses are to be used but for the public Transports of the Army, nor are any to be employed without the knowledge of the Commissary and assistant Commissary of Horse, and of the Waggon Master to the Army, and these Officers are on no account to suffer any of the Provisions and Train to be used for any other purpose but in the Transport of Provisions, Bat-

^{gm}. In Burgoyne's Orderly Book this order has, over the date, as the place where it was issued, "Camp at Duer's House." It also has preceding the body of the text as given above,—

"Parole St. Louis.

Countersign, Paris.

"Field Officer British Picquet, Lieut.-Colo. Hill."

The printed Burgoyne's Orderly Book contains only as much of the above order as is in Italics. Of the parts in Burgoyne's Orderly Book only the following words, viz,—

"Camp at Duer's House, 18th Aug., 1777.

"Parole, St. Louis.

Countersign, Paris.

"Field Officer British Picquet, Lieut.-Col'o. Hill."

"It having been a practice for officers to order to be taken from the Provision Train in the service of the King,"—are to be found in the manuscript Burgoyne's Orderly Book. The remainder of so much of the order as is contained in the printed Burgoyne's Orderly Book, has been copied, without acknowledgment, from "A Supplement to the State of the Expedition "

^{gm}. In "A Supplement to the State of the Expedition," and therefore in the printed Burgoyne's Orderly Book, for the words—"these dangerous inconveniences for the service,"—as found in Hadden's Orderly Books, is printed,—
"this danger and inconvenience to the service."

teaux, or public Stores, without the immediate order of his Excellency the Lieutenant General, the Quarter Master General, or his Assistants; *nor is any Officer being accidentally Commanding Officer at any Post, to interfere with the Provision Train in any other manner than to give it every Aid and Assistance*⁹⁰ *which he is on all occasions to do.*

By Major General Phillips.

General Orders. ⁹⁰

August 19th, 1777.

Major General Phillips has heard with the utmost astonishment, that notwithstanding his most serious and positive Orders of the 16th Instant,⁹⁹ that no Carts should be used for any purpose whatever, but the Transport of Provisions, unless by particular Orders from the Commander in Chief, &c. &c. as expressed in

⁹⁰. In "A Supplement to the State of the Expedition," and therefore in the printed Burgoyne's Orderly Book, the words,—*"in his power,"*—follow—*"every aid and assistance,"*—and precede,—*"which he is on all occasions to do."*

No order for August 19th, is contained in Burgoyne's Orderly Book, but the following explanation of the omission is given:—" [Orders of the 19th missing in the MS. at Head Quarters.]"

In the MS. referred to, at Head Quarters, two or three pages have been torn out.

⁹⁹. This order was probably issued at Fort Edward, as in the order of August 17th in Burgoyne's Orderly Book, issued at Camp at Duer's House, this clause occurs:—"The 47th Regiment is to march tomorrow morning to Fort Edward, where they will receive Orders from Major General Phillips."

⁹⁷. It would seem as if this date was a mistake, and should read the 18th, and refer to the next preceding order, which was probably issued by Major General Phillips in the temporary absence of the lieutenant-general, as well as this order of the 19th.

the Order, there are this day about thirty Carts on the Road loaden with Baggage, said to be the Lieutenant General's.

Major General Phillips being perfectly acquainted with his Excellency's Sentiments upon this subject, that he would on no account suffer his private conveniency to interfere with the public Transports of Provisions, to the great amount of it, if true, as it has been reported, is sure his Excellency will mark the strongest resentment at this very indecent disobedience of General Orders.

The Major General orders the Commanding Officer at *Fort George* to make a most strict report how this could possibly have happened after the Orders had been given out to send the Name or Names of Persons, who ordered these Carts to take Baggage, and unless it is an Order of some superior to the Commanding Officer at *Fort George* he ought not to have suffered such a Transaction.

The Report to be made immediately and these General Orders to be given out directly, as a strong reproof to those who have been guilty of this shocking neglect to the public Service; and to mark that the General Officers of this Army do not mean to countenance such Conduct.

By Major General Phillips.

B. O. September 7th, 1777.

By Major General Phillips there is reason to suppose that the Park of Artillery does not get the General Orders of the Day, and that even the Parole and Countersign is not known in the Camp of the Park.

This seems to be so very uncommon a neglect that it must be owing to some particular cause, which Major Williams will point out, that it may be remedied.

The dangerous consequences of a want of Orders are too plain to need explaining. Whenever the Adjutant cannot go for Orders, a Non-commissioned Officer should be sent to the Major of Brigade for them.

By Major General Phillips.

Brigade Orders.

Sara Toga, September 14th, 1777.

To all Brigades of Artillery there are certain proportions of Powder and Stores allotted, that in case any Division is detach'd, it may always have with it every necessary material for the service; and the Waggon, Carts, and Horses belonging to such proportions of Stores, are to be

under the immediate care of the Conductor of Horses belonging to such Brigade to which they are allotted: the remaining Waggon and Carts containing Powder, Entrenching Tools, and other various Stores, is usually called the Reserve of the Park, is to be drawn up in the rear of the Brigade of Artillery, is to have a Conductor of Horses for its service, and has attached to it such Clerks of Stores, Conductors and Artificers as do not immediately belong to the Brigades.

When all the Park division are together, they form one Brigade, and the Line of March should not be intermixed with any Carts or Waggon containing any other Stores than the Ammunition: the Baggage, Powder, Entrenching Tools, and Waggon belonging to the several Divisions are to fall into the rear immediately after the Guns and Ammunition.

Captain Carter's Brigade of the Artillery of the Park under Major Williams is to be formed into three Divisions.—

A Right.

Centre.

Left.

The right and left Divisions to consist of the 12 and 6 Pounders as before. The Centre Division to consist of the Howitzers and 24 Pounders: the line of the Park is to be drawn up as before, the two 24 Pounders being the Centre Pieces of the Artillery.

Line of March by the Right.

<i>Right Division.</i>	{	2 Light 6 Pounds.
		2 Medium 12 do.
<i>Centre Division.</i>	{	1 Royal Howitzer.
		1 Eight Inch do.
		2 24 Pounds.
		1 Eight Inch Howitzer.
		1 Royal Do.
<i>Left Division.</i>	{	2 Medium 12 Pounds.
		2 Light 6 Pounds.

The Ammunition Waggon and Carts belonging to each nature of Artillery to follow immediately after their proper Guns and Howitzers.

To follow immediately this Line of March.

Baggage Waggon of the Companies.

Spare Carriages.

Entrenching Tool Waggon.

Powder Waggon.

Conductors and Artificers Carts of the three Divisions

1 Forge Cart.

Surgeons and Mates Medicine Carts.

Major Williams' Baggage.

Captain Carter's do.

Officers' do.

Baggage of the Civil Branch.

The Reserve Train.

Whenever the Artillery is ordered to march without Baggage, there will nothing presume to follow the line of March but the Artillery, its Ammunition, spare Carriages, and Entrenching Tools, and Surgeons and Medicine Carts, Carts with Artificers Tools and Forge.

Major Williams' and Captain Carter's Companies to furnish an equal proportion of Men for the Centre Division : Subalterns for the Right Division are Lieutenants Rimington and Cox ; Left Division Lieutenants York and Davids : Centre Division Lieutenants Houghton, Dysart and Collier.

These Officers are on this day to make a general Survey of the Ammunition Waggon and Carts, to see that the Stores are all in order, and to instruct the Noncommissioned Officers in what manner they are to be got at when wanted ; the Arms of the Guns as well as their Boxes and Vents, are to be examined to see that no dirt be lodged, or any obstacle to their service.

A general Exercise of the Detachment to be on this day at the most convenient Hour, and

everything to be prepared for immediate Service and Action, that Major Williams may report it accordingly at Gun firing this Evening, in order that the Major General may make his report to the Commander in Chief.

Whatever men may be wanting to make up the number of Eighteen to each piece of Artillery, are to be given this day by the Detachment of the 33rd Regiment.

Lieutenants Dysart and Collier to immediately join the Park, and encamp with it till further orders.

Captain Bloomfield, Major of Brigade, having desired in the present want of Captains to do his Duty in the Park, the Major General allows of it, and he will be ordered to such parts of the Artillery occasionally as may most require it: he is therefore to make himself acquainted with the Right and Centre Divisions, in order that he may be posted to either of them when ordered. Captain Hosmer will have such parts of the Artillery as move with the Left Wing as usual. Captain Carter will inspect every part of his Brigade. Major Williams will take his Post and change it as he sees most for the good of the Service.

The detached Brigades will take their orders from the Generals with whom they immediately serve, and report directly to the Major General.

[But little of the following Order of October 1st, 1777, is printed in Burgoyne's Orderly Book, and the fragment given therein ends with the announcement "[Two leaves missing from the original manuscript]." The order therefore, as found in Lieut. Hadden's Orderly Books, is produced in full. The part in Italics is printed in Burgoyne's Orderly Book.—*Editor.*]

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.

G. O.

October 1st, 1777.

In consequence of authentic Letters received by the Lieutenant General from Brigadier General Powel at Ticonderoga, and Captain Aubrey^{gr} of the 47th Regiment commanding at Diamond Island in Lake George.

gr. Thomas Aubrey belonged to a very ancient family, and was the second son of Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart., by his wife, Martha, eldest daughter of Richard Carter, Esq., of Chilton, in Buckinghamshire.¹ He entered the British army Oct. 26, 1762, as an ensign in the 9th Foot, and served in Florida. March 27, 1765, he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 62d Foot, then at, or about to embark for, the Caribbee Islands, and May 17th, 1766, he exchanged into the 4th, or King's Own. April 30, 1771, he became a captain in the 47th Foot, then in Ireland, and two years later, he accompanied his regiment to America, where he served through the Revolutionary war.² He was under Gage in 1775, and commanded a company of the 47th at the battle of Bunker Hill.³ Sir William Howe sent the 47th to Canada, in the spring of 1776, to reinforce Gen. Carleton, and Capt. Aubrey went with it, taking part in the expulsion of the Americans from that province. In 1777, he accompanied Burgoyne's disastrous expedition, but escaped the fate of the bulk of that general's army, as, when it crossed the Hudson, Sept. 13th and 14th, he, with two companies of the 47th, was posted on Diamond Island, about the centre of Lake George, for the purpose of forwarding provisions across the lake. Sept. 24th, the Americans attacked Capt. Aubrey's command, but were repulsed with loss, greatly to the captain's credit.⁴ After Burgoyne's surrender all the British posts between Saratoga and Canada were hastily abandoned, and the troops withdrawn to the latter province; in which Capt. Aubrey served during the remainder of the war. In the summer of 1778 he was sent by Gen. Haldimand with the three companies of the 47th regiment remaining in Canada, a detachment of

The Army is informed that the Enemy having found means to cross the Mountains between Skenesborough and Lake George, and having marched with another Corps from Hubbertown, a sudden and general Attack was made in the morning of the 18th upon the carrying Place at Lake George, Sugar Hill, Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence.

Sir John Johnson's corps, together with a body of artificers under Lieut. Twiss, of the Engineers, to establish a post at the entrance of Lake Ontario; of which post Capt. Aubrey remained in command for a long time.⁵ Gen. Haldimand wrote to Lord George Germaine as follows :

"Camp at Sorel, 14th Oct., 1778.

"My Lord.....I sent Mr. Twiss of the Engineers with Capt. Aubrey and three Co's remaining of the 47th Reg't in Canada, a Detachment from Sir John Johnson's Corps, together with a Body of Artificers, to establish a Post at the entrance of Lake Ontario, to serve the purposes of a safe place for the Traders to send their goods to, which go from Montreal in Boats, till the King's vessels, now the only craft allowed to navigate the Lakes, can be spared from the more urgent services, to transport them to Niagara, a secure harbor for these vessels, and a defence against the enterprises of the Rebels upon this province by that great avenue into it. I also sent up with the same party Lieut. Shanks of the Navy (who has been employed upon Lake Champlain) and is the Commissioner of the Dock Yards, for the benefit of his judgment with regard to the best places for a Harbor, and with orders to construct as soon as possible for that Lake, a number of Gun Boats which are useful in so many respects. I sent him

also the Inspection and arrangement of the King's vessels there.

"The Place pitched upon by these Gentlemen, after having been carefully examined, Cataragui, is an Island about 12 miles below the entrance of Lake Ontario, having Grande Isle on one side from which it is divided by a Channel of something less than a mile, and the South Continent on the other at the distance of one mile and a quarter from it.

"This Island had gone for some time by the name of Deer Island having been mistaken for that called by the French Isle aux Chevrements which is found to be higher up, and the name of Carleton's Island is now given to this in question. Very favorable ground for fortifying, commanding a commodious and safe Harbor which this Island possesses at the upper end of it looking towards the Lake, induced the Gentlemen sent on this Service to fix upon this spot, where a Fort is begun, and Barracks are building for the Troops, and the place will be in a tolerable state of defence, and Habitations by the Winter, A Plan of which shall be transmitted to your Lordship as soon as possible."⁶

Capt. Aubrey became a major in the army June 7, 1782; and Feb. 28th, 1788, he exchanged with Capt. John Irving of the 73d Foot on half-pay, and he remained on half-pay as a captain during the rest of his life.⁷ Burgoyne's Orderly

The Enemy so far succeeded as to surprize the armed Boat, stationed to defend the carrying Place, as also the Posts on Sugar Hill and at the Portage, where a considerable part of four Companies of the 53rd Regiment were made Prisoners.

A Blockhouse commanded by Lieutenant Lord⁹⁸ was the only Post on that side that had time to make use of their Arms, and they made a brave Defence till Cannon (supposed to be taken from the Surprize Vessel) was brought against them.

After stating and lamenting so fatal a want of Vigilance, the Lieutenant General has to congratulate the Troops upon the Event which followed.

Book errs in stating that he rose to the rank of colonel in the army, as his highest regimental rank was that of captain, and his highest army rank that of major, there being but three majors above him on the list at the time of his death.⁹ He was a lieutenant colonel in the militia, however, having been an Inspecting Field Officer for the County of Bucks.¹ He represented Wallingford in the 16th Parliament, which met May 18, 1784, and was dissolved June 19, 1790.⁷

He died at his residence on Carmarthen St., London, Jan. 15, 1814¹, leaving a daughter, Sophia Elizabeth, who, shortly after her father's death, married Charles Spencer Ricketts, Esq., of Dorton House, Bucks, by whom she had issue.⁸ Sir John Aubrey, Bart., who was a lord of the Admiralty in 1782, and a lord of the Treasury in 1783, and "father of the House of Commons" in 1826, was an older brother of the subject of this sketch.⁹

[¹B. R. ²B. H. ³E. J. 201. ⁴G. V. 174. ⁵F. L. 96, 121. ⁶F. H. 26. ⁷A. N. 7, 10. ⁸B. R. : I. X. 475.]

⁹⁸ Simeon Lord entered the British army July 14, 1762, as a lieutenant in the 11th Foot, which was then serving in Germany. As he was an additional officer he went upon half-pay at the peace of 1763, but returned to active service April 25, 1766, as a lieutenant in the 53d Foot. His regiment proceeded to Canada in the spring of 1776, and he took part in Burgoyne's campaign in 1777. According to the text he behaved very creditably when the Americans endeavoured to break Burgoyne's communications in September, though taken a prisoner. He was advanced to be capt. lieutenant and captain, Oct. 8, 1777, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1785. [B. H.]

The Enemy having twice summoned Brigadier General Powel, and received such answers as became a gallant Officer intrusted with an important Post, and having tried, during the course of four Days, several Attacks, and being repulsed in all, retreated without having done any considerable damage.

Brigadier General Powel gives great commendations to the Regiment of Prince Frederic, and the other Troops stationed on Mount Independence. The Brigadier also mentions with great applause the Behaviour of Captain Taylor^g of the 21st Regiment, who commanded 100 men in the Fort of Ticonderoga, and that he was well supported by Lieutenant Beacroft of the 24th Regiment, who with the Artificers in Arms, in the Half Moon Battery, prevented the Enemy from surrounding the Fort. On the 24th Instant the Rebels with the Gun Boats and Bateaux which they had surprised at the carrying

^g. William Thomas Tayler was commissioned as a lieutenant in the 71st Foot Oct. 18, 1761. This regiment was previously the 2d Battalion of the 32d Foot, and was reduced at the peace of 1763, when Lieut. Tayler went upon half-pay, where he remained till Oct. 11, 1766; at which time he was commissioned a 1st lieutenant in the 21st, or Royal North British Fusiliers. The 21st was in North America from 1766 to 1773 when it was ordered home. Lieut. Tayler was promoted to be captain Feb. 26, 1773; but whether

he accompanied his regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776 we have been unable to ascertain, as also what part he bore in Burgoyne's campaign further than as the order in the text attests his gallantry during the American attack on Ticonderoga. This attack prevented his joining the main army, and he thus, fortunately for himself, escaped its unhappy fate. May 19, 1780, he exchanged into the 92d Foot, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1783. [B. H: G. V. 173: E. Z.]

of Provisions is ample, it is highly desirable to be prepared for any continuance in the Field that the King's Service may require, without the delay of bringing forward further Stores, for these purposes^{g^u} the ration of Bread or Flour is for the present fixed at one Pound.

The Lieutenant General is confident he shall meet with universal and cheerful Obedience to this Order, and as a testimony of his Attention to the Spirit and good will of the Troops upon all occasions, and confident of his Majesty's Grace towards such merit, the Lieutenant General will take upon himself to suspend the usual Stoppages during the Diminution of the ration, or for one Month, and the Soldier will be accounted with for his whole pay during that time, the Stoppages then to take place again in their usual Course.

With the same Confidence in the King's Grace, the Lieutenant General has ventured to order the Deputy Pay Master General to issue One Hundred and Sixty five Days Forage Money to the Officers of the Army.^{g^v}

^{g^u}. In Burgoyne's Orderly Book instead of a comma after *stores*, there is a semicolon after *purposes*; and — *for these purposes* — as in the text; it reads in Burgoyne's Orderly Book — *for those purposes*.

^{g^v}. In Burgoyne's Orderly Book the next to the last word of this order is *this*, instead of *the*, as in the text.

[By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.]

G. O. *Cambridge, New England.*

November 12th, 1777.

The great number of Soldiers that have been permitted to flock to Town, has been productive of many irregularities, and gives the public a bad impression of the Discipline of the British Troops.

During the present unsettled state of things, there is to be a Field Officer of the Day, who is to superintend the regularity of the Cantonment in all respects, but particularly with regard to the absence of men : no Soldier is to be allowed to go out of the Barracks without a Pass signed by the Field Officer of the Regiment he belongs to, which Passes are to be granted only from Eight to Three o'clock.

The Rolls are to be called four times a Day, at the hours the Field Officer shall appoint, and a report of all Absentees is to be made to him.

[By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.]

G. O. *November 14th, 1777.*

It has been reported to the Lieutenant General that one or two Disputes have arisen between

some Officers and the Provincials; as this is so entirely derogatory to Order and good Discipline, the Lieutenant General was in hopes he should not have had occasion for any Complaint of the kind, and Officers should consider that not only the private reputation of every Individual suffers by such conduct, but that the general Good of the whole is endangered by the inconsiderate behaviour of any who break the Rules of Discretion.

The Lieutenant General relies on the Commanding Officers of Corps to prevent all possibility of any further Disputes, and should any Officer in future be guilty of any irregularities the strongest reprehension must be expected.

[By Lieutenant General Burgoyne]

G. O.

November 16th, 1777.

The Army is informed that all possible means are employed to procure Blanketting, Mittens, and such other necessities as are essential to the Health and Comfort of the Men during the Winter.

The impossibility of procuring these Articles at Boston, at any price, makes all Efforts precarious and at best tedious.

An equal diligence has been used by the superior Officers of the Army to obtain a more regular and more ample delivery of Wood, and every favor and preference has been refused by the Officers in general till Justice could be done to the Private Men.

Under these circumstances where the whole Army are fellow sufferers, it is equally for the Honor and Interest of the Service that there should appear a general conformity of Patience and Fortitude; there is the greatest reason to believe that the inconveniences the Army have suffered (which in some cases have been unavoidable) will happen no more.

The Lieutenant General is willing to believe that some of the Men who have absented themselves from their Corps, have not meant finally to desert, but have been induced to seek Shelter from the present Hardships, by offering themselves to labor in the *Country* for a limited time.

It will be the duty of the Officers to warn their men against so false a principle, and so deceitful an expectation, as that they will be permitted to return.

The *Country* now abounds with examples of Soldiers with whom no faith has been kept in point of Pay, and who receive but a very scanty allowance of Provisions for very hard Labour.

Soldiers will also be led to consider that to *abandon* their *Officers* and *Comrades* in *times* of *Difficulty* and *Distress* is to *add to* the *Treason*, and *Perjury* of *Desertion*, the most *unmanly* and *abject deficiency* of *Spirit*.

[By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.]

G. O. *Cambridge, December 4th, 1777.*

It is now some days since Lieutenant General Burgoyne had advice from Sir William Howe, that Transports were preparing with all possible diligence in the Delaware, and at New York, to proceed to the Port of Boston, and to convey the Troops of this Army to Great Britain in conformity to the Convention.

The Lieutenant General takes this occasion to give the Troops the further satisfactory Intelligence that their fellow Soldiers are continuing the Campaign in the Southern Quarter, with unremitting Spirit, and that in the midst of Fatigue and Danger, and sometimes scarcity, Desertion in that Army is almost unknown.

He leaves to the breast of every Soldier of the Convention, to draw the dishonorable Comparison, and to consider what Answer can be given to the King, and to the British Nation for the

unprecedented Disgrace into which these Troops are sinking.

The numbers of unmanly Cowards, who have wanted Fortitude to endure some temporary inconvenience in common with their Officers and Comrades, are most justly punished in the treatment they receive in the Country: instead of Food, Clothing and Encouragement, they are confined in Prisons, suspected and despised.

Such as have been drawn off from their Allegiance by delusive hope of finding high Pay or Preferment in the Provincial Troops are equally disappointed, it being a Law of the Continental Congress, and it will be fully enforced by their Commander in Chief, to reject all Deserters.

Let the wretches therefore, of both Classes above described, be left to their fate with the Ignominy upon their Memory their Conduct deserves; but let Officers reflect how much their own Reputation is involved while this Evil continues.

The Attachment, Respect, and Confidence which a proper Intercourse between the Officers and Soldiers never fails to create and to support, does not seem to exist; and it is with great Concern the Lieutenant General finds it necessary to insist, with the Commanding Officers of Corps that they establish the most precise and assiduous Attention in the visiting and inspecting the

Barracks and Messes of the Men, and in the Enquiries into the Manner in which the men pass their time when out of their sight.

For these purposes as many Officers as can possibly be lodged in the Barracks without danger to their Health, or very unusual Inconvenience, must for the present constantly reside there, and it is expected they will cheerfully forego the prospect of any extension of Quarters in Cambridge that could interfere with their constant Attendance while the present exigency of Duty and of Honor requires it.

The regimental inspecting Officers of Messes are to take care that the proper proportion of Garden Stuff is purchased of the proper Commissary, and nowhere else, for the respective Messes, and in the proportion of three Days or more at a time, that there may be no pretence of Straggling from the Barracks for that purpose.

No Passes are to be granted to private Men upon any Account soever, but should any particular regimental Purposes require Messengers to be sent to Cambridge, a return of the number is to be given to the Field Officer Commanding, at Eight o'clock every morning, and he is to order the whole to be assembled and marched regularly by a Commissioned Officer, with Non-Commissioned Officers in proportion, and the Com-

manding Officer is to be responsible for taking back the whole before Two in the Afternoon.

All Officers are required to make Prisoner every man they meet with, absent from the Barracks, to whatever Regiment he may belong, and if they cannot conveniently do so, they are at least to take his name in writing, and send a report to his Regiment, that he may be brought to Punishment for disobedience of Orders.

Any man that is seen conversing with any continental Soldier, or drinking or otherwise keeping Company with any people of the Country, is to be treated in the same manner for disobedience of Orders.

The Soldiers of the Grenadier Company of the 29th Regiment having represented that they have not been regularly accounted with since the 24th April last, notwithstanding dutiful representation made to the Lieutenant commanding the Company, and Major, Lord Balcarres *g¹⁰*

g^w. Alexander Lindsay, the 6th Earl of Balcarres, came from an old and distinguished Scotch lineage. He was born Jan. 18, 1752, and was the eldest son of James, the 5th Earl of Balcarres in the peerage of Scotland, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple, of Castleton, Knt.; succeeding his father in the earldom in 1768. He entered the army July 15th, 1767, as an ensign in the 55th Foot, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay, a warm friend of the family; and under

his tutelage the future earl embarked on the *Aeolus* frigate for Gibraltar. He obtained a two years leave of absence and went to Germany and studied at the University of Gottingen. On his return he purchased a company in the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, his captain's commission bearing date Jan. 28th, 1771; and with this corps he remained attached for five years, commanding the grenadiers. Dec. 9th, 1775, he was appointed, by purchase, major of the 53d Foot, then stationed in Ireland; and the next spring

having upon enquiry into the fact, confirmed the truth of the Representation, the Pay-Master

he accompanied his regiment to Canada, where on the 12th of June, 1776, Sir Guy Carleton appointed him to the command of the light infantry. He aided in expelling the Americans from Canada in 1776, taking part in the battle of Trois Rivières, and in 1777 he commanded the light infantry in Fraser's Brigade on Burgoyne's Expedition.

At the battle of Hubbardton, in which he bore a conspicuous part, he was slightly wounded in the left thigh, but he had a most narrow escape, as thirteen balls passed through his clothes, the lock of his fusil was shot off and the barrel doubled together.

Lord Balcarres took an active part in the engagement at Freeman's Farm, Sept. 19th, and at Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7th, where he and his command were hotly engaged. Lord Lindsay, in his *Lives of the Lindsays*, gives the following account of the earl's conduct in the latter action. "The army being in a most dangerous situation he fortified his battalion, without any orders, in a very strong manner, giving injunctions to his men that, in great probability, their lives would depend upon their diligence in completing that small work. The very day it was finished the army marched to attack the enemy's works and were most completely defeated. Gen. Fraser at the head of six battalions was killed, and the rout was universal. In this situation did the command devolve on Lord Balcarres, who having gained his own little work, brought his light infantry about, and received their whole army; and although repeatedly stormed, and all the neighboring works taken, they had the good fortune to repulse them finally, and by this success the British army was saved on that day." On Gen. Fraser's receiving a mortal wound in this action the Earl of Balcarres

succeeded to his brigade, and to his regimental position as lieutenant-colonel of the 24th Foot, his lordship's commission bearing date Oct. 8, 1777.

He was included in Burgoyne's capitulation, and was sent to New York as an exchanged prisoner, but finding that a general exchange of the whole army was not perfected, as he had expected, he would not accept his liberty, "at the expense," as he expressed it in his letter to the authorities, "of the pleasure I feel in sharing the unhappy fate of the regiment I have the honor to command." He therefore went to Cambridge where Burgoyne's troops were then quartered. "My regiment," wrote Lord Balcarres at this time to his sisters, "is my family,—you can all do without me. The rebels give me leave to go home if I please, but I will not accept a favour in which all my officers cannot equally benefit, so I will remain with them." Lord Balcarres must have modified his views, however, as he arrived in London on his parole of honor Feb. 8, 1779, and later in that year he testified before the House of Commons in regard to the unfortunate expedition in which he had borne himself so gallantly.

June 1, 1780, he married his cousin german, Elizabeth, only daughter by a second marriage, and heiress of Charles Dalrymple, Esq., of North Berwick, by whom he acquired considerable estate. His lordship had already succeeded one Gen. Simon Fraser; now, he was destined to succeed another. On the death of Lieut. Gen. Simon Fraser (son of Lord Lovat of '45 tragic memory) the 71st Regt., or Fraser's Highlanders, consisting of two battalions, was formed into two distinct regiments, the 71st, and the 2d 71st, and Lord Balcarres was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the

General is ordered to furnish such Sums as shall put that Company upon a footing with the rest

second 71st, Feb. 13, 1782. He received the rank of colonel in the army, and a special commission to command in Jersey, Nov. 20, 1782, and he was for one year charged with the correspondence and communications with the armies of *la Vendée* and *les Chouans*, in the absence of Marshal Conway, the governor. He was first elected one of the sixteen representative peers for Scotland for the parliament that met March 25, 1784; and he was re-elected for every parliament during the remainder of his life, with the exception of the 18th parliament from May, 1796 to August, 1802.

He became the colonel of the 63d Foot, Aug. 27, 1789, which position he held until his death; and he was advanced to the rank of major-general Oct. 12, 1793. He continued on the staff at Jersey until Oct. 20, 1794, when he was removed to command the forces at Jamaica, being also placed at the head of the civil administration as lieutenant-governor; and he likewise had a general military superintendence over the St. Domingo districts nearest to him. In the spring of 1795 the earl, accompanied by his brother Colin, then Gen. Lindsay, embarked for his new government in the West Indies.

Lord Lindsay thus sums up his kinsman's West India career:—"Lord Balcarres' able conduct and indefatigable exertions in suppressing the Maroon rebellion which broke out almost immediately after his arrival in Jamaica (exertions to which the empire owed the lives of every white in the island and the preservation of seventy millions of British capital), were acknowledged by a vote of seven hundred guineas for the purchase of a sword, to be presented to him in token of the gratitude of the colony. In acknowledging it he congratulated the Assembly that 'during their contest with

an enemy the most ferocious that ever disgraced the annals of history—an army of savages, who had indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fate of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, had sullied the brightness of their arms.' He resigned the government in 1801, after having held it for nearly seven years, during which, waging an incessant warfare against French revolutionary aggression, and with internal difficulties to contend with enough to have disheartened any one less confident in his own resources, he saved Jamaica a second time, and on quitting the island, was followed to his home by the blessings of thousands, whose children still revere his memory."

The Earl of Balcarres became a lieutenant-general Jan. 1, 1798, and a general Sept. 25, 1803. His West Indian career was his last active professional duty, as an accident, by which he was lamed for life, incapacitated him from further military service. He resided until his death, at Haigh Hall, in Lancashire, his wife's inheritance from the ancient knightly family of Bradshaigh, devoting himself to the improvement of that property, then in a lamentable state of dilapidation, 'the mansion house being in ruins, the furniture sold, pursuant to the will of the last possessor, the mines of coal and cannell forsaken, the lands undrained, and every farm house and fence in the last stage of decay.' He lost his countess Aug. 10, 1816, and he himself died at Haigh Hall March 27th, 1825, aged 73. By his wife he had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son succeeded to the earldom, and likewise acquired the earldom of Crawford, so that the title became Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; and soon after his accession he was created a British peer



of the Army, and the Accounts of the Company are to be immediately stated for the inspection of Lord Balcarras who will afterwards make his report.

No reprimand is given upon this Occasion, as

by the title of Baron Wigan.

The Earl of Balcarras was by no means the least distinguished of that brilliant assemblage of officers that accompanied Burgoyne on his American campaign. In regard to the earl's character this is the testimony of his mother, written during his lordship's early years. "He has without dispute the happiest and most contented temper in the world,—at the same time bold as a lion, and ambitious—never letting slip an opportunity of raising his family; but when his efforts fail of success, his natural good temper reconciles him at once to the failure, and makes him find resources of pleasure at home that obliterates it from his mind." His brother Colin, afterwards General Lindsay, who also served in America, wrote from Philadelphia, in Feb., 1778, to the earl, then in captivity, in this wise.—"You leave me no room to wish you anything in your present situation, since you must possess the heartfelt satisfaction of having discharged your duty to your country in a conspicuous and trying situation as completely as the most rigid virtue could exact, and I boast the honour to be your brother," etc.

On more than one occasion during his early life Lord Balcarras had reason to be much displeased with the ministry which employed him, and he made no secret of it. An exclamation of Pitt's during a consultation at a moment of great embarrassment, proves the estimation in which that statesman held his generous loyalty. "Balcarras was out of humour with us when in prosperity, but staunch when

we were in danger—that is the man!"

This confidence was justified by Lord Balcarras going up from Scotland on crutches with a shattered leg, to support the government in his place in parliament during the crisis in question. The following anecdote, which is characteristic, whether true or not, is to be found in *Stuart's Three Years in North America*, vol. 1, p. 462. "General Arnold, resided in England after the war but was treated at various times in a way, not likely to lead others to imitate his treasonable conduct. He was with the king one day when Lord Balcarras, who fought under General Burgoyne in the Saratoga campaign, was present. The king introduced them. 'What Sire!' said the Earl, drawing up his form and retreating, 'the traitor Arnold?' The consequence was a challenge from Arnold. They met, and it was arranged that the parties should fire by signal. Arnold fired, and Lord Balcarras, turning on his heel, was walking away, when Arnold exclaimed, 'Why dont you fire, my Lord?' 'Sir, said Lord Balcarras, looking over his shoulder, 'I leave you to the executioner!'"

Finally, the earl sums up his own career in these words. "The efforts of my life, both in my public and private pursuits, have been successful; we have once more reared our heads; a handsome competence has again fallen to our lot,—and praised be the Author of all good for it!" [B. R. : D. K. : B. H. : F. E. 8 : B. N. : A. O., 140 *et pass* : G. Z. : H. K. 134.]

Lieutenant Steele's *g^x* wounds and ill Health for a long time prevented his attention to this Duty, but for the future it is to be understood as a standing Order in all such Cases, with the Payment as well as every other direction of the Company devolves upon the senior Officer present.

The limits of the Parole having been shown to the Quarter Masters of Regiments by the Assistant Quarter Master General, it is understood that every Officer will make himself a thorough Master of the Extent.

G. O.

December 24th, 1777.

It has been alleged that some Prisoners of War have found their way to the Barracks, and remain with the Troops of the Convention, if so, it is an unwarrantable proceeding, and consequently supposed to be without the knowledge of the Officers.

g^x. Thomas Steele was commissioned June 21, 1769, as an ensign in the 29th Foot, then in America, and was promoted to a lieutenancy Nov. 3, 1773. His regiment returned home in 1774, and two years later went to Canada. He was in the grenadier company of the 29th, and hence accompanied Burgoyne on his expedition, as only the light companies of his regiment went on that campaign. He was wounded at the

battle of Hubbardston July 7, 1777; and after his captain, Lord Petersham, was detached as an aid to Burgoyne, he commanded the company. He served throughout Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in that officer's surrender, his name being attached to the Cambridge Parole. He appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1784. [B. H : G. V. 174 : E. Z.]

The strictest Enquiry therefore is to be immediately made, and if any Prisoners of War are with the Troops, their names are to be reported to the General in order to their being delivered to the Commissary of Prisoners, and any Prisoners of War having Permits to come to the Barracks, are to be informed that they must return before the expiration of their leave to the place they came from.

[By Lieutenant General Burgoyne.]

G. O.

January 10th, 1778.⁹⁹

Among the Disputes and Frays, which have lately prevailed, the Lieutenant General observes

85. This order was issued by Gen. Burgoyne, and was occasioned by a letter he received from Gen. Heath, the American commander at Cambridge. The original draft of the letter in Heath's handwriting, is in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York, and reads as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON,
"Jan'y 9th 1778.

"SIR:

"It is with no Small Concern that I inform your Excellency of the abusive behaviour of the British Soldiery towards the Guards and Sentries at Prospect Hill, which has for Some Time been Increasing, and has at length arrived to a height no longer to be born. Sentries have been repeatedly Insulted on their Posts and at Some Times Beat, and Disarmed, (this I must Confess reflects Dishonor on themselves for a Sentry is never to allow

himself to be Insulted or abused) Prisoners have been frequently rescued from the Guard, and the behaviour of the Soldiery mutinous and Disorderly in the Extreme, of which there was a most Singular Instance the night before last, a number of the Rioters are Sent on Board the Prison Ship. As your Excellency Informed Me Soon after your arrival that you would do all in your Power to preserve order among the Troops I must Call upon you Sir, to Exert yourself for that purpose, for if the Present Disorderly behaviour of so many of the Soldiery Continues, the Consequences will be Serious for the Guards and Sentries shall no longer be Insulted — a most Scandalous Practise of Counterfeiting Passes has lately been Detected,—I must desire you would Enquire into the matter, or the Innocent will, unavoidably, suffer Inconvenience—a Sentry was knocked Down the night before last and his Fire lock Carried off.

with infinite Concern, there are too many imputable to the Indiscretion of our own Troops; of this, the Attacks upon the Provincial Sentries, and the forging of Passes, are particularly glaring. Upon the Principles of Rectitude and Discipline, our own Officers should be the first to detect and punish Offences of this sort, and they will moreover consider how greatly, by such examples, they would strengthen their claims whenever it is their part to demand redress of Injuries.

The Lieutenant General makes known to the Troops that he is using every possible means to bring to justice the Provincial Officer who wounded two men of the 9th Regiment on Thursday last, and they may ever depend upon his Efforts to vindicate the Rights of British Soldiers, and their Allies; but he cannot too often call to their reflection, that circumstances grow daily more critical and alarming, and the times require the most minute circumspection of conduct on their part.

In order to give further effect to these Injunc-

I expect that effectual Measures will be taken for the return of the Firelock immediately. I must desire your attention into these matters.

"I have this moment received your favor of yesterday, I have repeatedly Directed the Commissary to state his acco'ts, he has been Endeavouring to Complete them, but has been Delayed on account of Some Bills in the Hands of Some of the Purchasers of Cattle who

are at some Distance I have ordered him again to Complete them being as anxious as your Excellency for their adjustment.

"I am

"Your Excellency's

"most obt. servt."

Endorsed, "To Gen. Burgoyne relative to abuses offered to the Sentries Jan'y 9, 1778."

tions the Lieutenant General requires an invariable Observance of the following Orders.

All Insults, Indecencies, or Improprieties offered to Officers, by any Provincials whatsoever, are in the present situation of things, to be esteemed matters of public Grievance, and not to be compromised or accommodated by any private Decisions either of resentment or apology; they are therefore to be reported as soon as conveniently may be, to the Adjutant General, together with the Evidence that can prove the Facts.

In order further to enforce Discipline and Regularity, there are to be two general Parades every week at which all Officers and Soldiers are to attend: they will be at 12 o'clock at noon on Sundays and Thursdays, the Weather permitting, otherwise on the first following fair day: these Parades are to be exclusive of the Roll callings, and other Parades at present established.

The Lieutenant General is informed that Orders are given by General Heath to all Provincial Patroles and Guards, to make Prisoners all Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers (servants not excepted) who shall be found out of their own or their Master's Quarters between the Hours of Sunset and Sunrise.

G. O.

February 7th, 1778.

A Report having been made to the General by the Field Officer Commanding at the Barracks that a Soldier of the 9th Regiment has been dangerously stabbed this Evening by a man of the provincial Guard, William Weir and the principal Surgeons of the Army are ordered to examine into the nature of the Wounds early in the Morning, and make a report to the General.

END OF ORDERLY BOOKS.



APPENDIX.

NO. 1.

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

William Phillips was connected with the Royal Regiment of Artillery throughout his military career. Aug. 1st, 1746, he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, when a mere boy, as a gentleman cadet, and he was commissioned a lieutenant fireworker in the Artillery January 2d, 1747. He was quarter-master of the First Battalion April 1st, 1750, his successor having been appointed June 1, 1756. He became a 2d lieutenant March 1st, 1755, and a 1st lieutenant April 1st, 1756.¹ Capt. Duncan tells us that Phillips when a 1st lieutenant was appointed to the command of a company of Miners, raised in 1756, for duty in Minorca, but which was no longer required after the capitulation of Port Mahon. Instead of disbanding it, however, the Board of Ordnance converted it into a company of artillery, and added it to the regiment. Greatly to the indignation of the officers of a corps, whose promotion then, as now, was by seniority, Lieut. Phillips was transferred with the company, as a captain, without having passed through the intermediate grade of captain-lieutenant², his captain's commission bearing date May 12th, 1756.³

Capt. Phillips commanded the three companies of the Royal Artillery present at the battle of Minden, August 1st, 1759, where he gained much distinction ; Prince Ferdinand particularizing him in General Orders issued the day after the battle thanking the army for its gallantry. Subsequently, as a further proof of his appreciation, the prince directed a gratuity of one thousand crowns to be presented to him. At Warberg, on the 30th of July, 1760, Capt. Phillips gained great credit by the rapidity with which he brought the artillery into action and the efficiency with which he handled it. He commanded No. 5 Company of the 1st Battalion, which, after a long and glorious service, became, on July 1st, 1859, " 7 " Battery, 14th Brigade. January 1st, 1860, it was rechristened and became " 4 " Battery, 13th Brigade, and such it still remains.*

After the war Capt. Phillips was stationed at the regimental headquarters at Woolwich, and he was the first to originate a band in the Royal Artillery—not a permanent one, however, as the existing band dates only as far back as 1771, when the 4th Battalion was formed, and with it the nucleus of what has developed into one of the best military bands in the world.* Capt. Phillips became a lieutenant-colonel in the army August 15th, 1760 ; lieutenant-governor of Windsor in 1768 ; a colonel in the army May 25, 1772 ; and a major-general in America only, January 1st, 1776.³ He was likewise a member of the parliament which met November 29th, 1774, and was dissolved July 8th, 1780, being one of the two members from Boroughbridge.⁴

Having received an appointment on the American staff he embarked with Gen. Burgoyne on the man-of-war *Blonde* for Quebec, where he arrived the latter part of May, 1776. Gen.

Phillips had command at St. John's from July to December, 1776, when he was transferred to Montreal; and the following letter from him to Gen. Riedesel, in Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's collection, affords us a pleasant glimpse of some of the festivities that helped to while away the winter.

“ MONTREAL, *January the 5th*, 1777.

“ My dear General :

“ There will be a publick Ball given on the 13th instant in honour of her Majesty's Birth day. It would add very considerably to the pleasure and honour of the day if you were to be present.—I dare not presume to expect you will take so long a journey but should you be enclined I shall be very happy—I set out on the 15th for Quebec to attend the commands of our Commander.—

“ I hope you are perfectly well and am,

“ My dear General, with most sincere respect
and regard,

“ Your faithfull Servant,

“ W. PHILLIPS.

“Major General Redesel.”

In the spring of 1777, Sir Guy Carleton appointed him second in command to Burgoyne, in the following appreciative letter.

“ HEADQUARTERS, QUEBEC,

“ *8th April*, 1777.

“ SIR : My dispatches from the Secretary of State inform me that it is His Majesty's pleasure I should remain in Canada ;

and that I should detach Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne with a certain part of the army, which is so particularly detailed that nothing is left to me but the seeing these commands put into execution, and, in the case of the death or illness of Gen. Burgoyne, the naming of his successor. As it is my intention to provide everything for this detachment with the same care and attention to the good of the service as if I was to command it myself, I shall propose that you accompany Gen. Burgoyne, and doubt not he will be happy in the thought of having such able assistance, while I can only express my sorrow at not having it in my power to testify to you, by a greater mark, the high sense I entertain of the zeal and activity with which you have constantly executed the orders which occasions have required my giving you, as well as of the obligations I am under to you for the great trouble which you have so cheerfully taken upon you in the management of our public works, which by your diligence I have the satisfaction of finding in such forwardness as that the expedition under Gen. Burgoyne will be able to proceed without delay."⁶

Gen. Burgoyne bore testimony to Gen. Phillips' zeal in preparing for the then approaching campaign of 1777, in this wise, in a letter to Lord George Germaine. "It is a duty in this place," wrote Burgoyne, "to do some justice to the zeal and activity of Major General Phillips . . . ; and having mentioned that most valuable officer, I trust it cannot be thought a digression to add, that it is to his judicious arrangements and indefatigable pains during the general superintendency of preparation, which Sir Guy Carleton entrusted to him in the winter and spring, that the service is indebted for its present forwardness. The prevalence of contrary winds and other

accidents having rendered it impossible for any necessities prepared in England for the opening of the campaign, yet to reach the camp."⁷

As second in command to Burgoyne, in 1777, General Phillips bore a prominent part ; and his skill and energy as an artillery officer are illustrated by his locating a battery on Sugar Loaf Hill, despite the natural obstacles, and thus commanding Fort Ticonderoga and forcing its evacuation without a battle. "Major-General Phillips," wrote Burgoyne after the battle of Freeman's Farm, September 19th, 1777, "upon first hearing the firing found his way through a difficult part of the woods to the scene of action, and brought up with him Major Williams and four pieces of artillery, and from that moment I stood indebted to that gallant and judicious second, for incessant and most material services, particularly for restoring the action in a point which was critically pressed by a great superiority of fire, and to which he led up the 20th regiment at the utmost personal hazard."⁸ Referring to the gloomy period after the battle of Bemus' Heights, October 7th, 1777, when the doom of the British army seemed well nigh sealed, the Lieutenant General says :—"It is a justice to Major General Phillips, to inform your Lordship, that when the crisis of our situation at Saratoga arrived, he very handsomely offered to hazard his person by making a circuit through the woods, and attempt to throw himself into Ticonderoga, to defend that place, should it be the object of the enemy to endeavour the retaking it."⁹ During the year 1777, this officer was promoted to be a major in the artillery, April 25th, and a major-general in the army, August 29th.^{1,3}

After Burgoyne's return to England, in the spring of 1778, the command of the convention troops devolved upon General Phillips, and two letters (in the editor's possession), written at this time, one from General Heath, the American commander, to Phillips, and the other from Phillips to Heath, show General Phillips' attention to duty, and give us glimpses of the character of the man. Heath's letter is as follows.

"HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON,

"April 19th, 1778.

"SIR: Your favour of the 17th & 18th Came safe to hand, and should have been sooner answered had it been in my Power, no one can be more Inclined to preserve good humour & good order than I am and I am fully satisfied with your Intentions to promote them also. The appointment of Major Brown to act as Town Major was not designed to give umbrage, it was rather a Temporary appointment by necessity, Capt. Lyman being Called upon to Joyn his Corps, no abuses offered to the officers will be Countenanced by me but will ever meet with rebuke & Punishment. However in Justice to Major Brown I must say that I have ever found him ambitious to do his Duty, and to Deserve the character of a good officer. His former situation and some other Circumstances may have rendered him disagreeable to the officers, and I shall give the matter a proper Consideration.

"The matter Complained of in your last Letter I hope is redressed. It was occasioned by the arrival of a Colo. Armand, and a number of French officers of his Corps from the Southward, one of whom I believe opened a Rendezvous at Water-

town. But I Immediately broke it up and strictly forbid the Colo. Inlisting either German or British Troops of the Convention or Prisoners or Deserters. But the Arts and Deceptions made use of by your People, by Dressing themselves in sailors & peasants habit and by the most solemn Protestations of having no Connections with the army are Constantly Imposing upon the recruiting officers, to their great Embarrassment.

"I am Sir

"Your Ob't Serv't

"W. HEATH.

"M. GEN'L PHILLIPS."

The next letter is from Phillips to Heath, and is as follows.

"CAMBRIDGE, 21st *June*, 1778.

"SIR: I have received your letter upon the Subject of Accompts, dated from Boston June 20th, 1778. Mr. Leonard the British Commissary from Rhode Island in delivering to me the certified and signed Accompts of Mr. Richardson your Commissary General, made no mention of any further Payment than what is expressed in that signed Accompt and it was impossible for me to conceive that any further charge remained. But I am willing, Sir, to have it examined, and Mr. Commissary General Clarke shall, whenever you will please to permit it, meet any Person from you, in order to know what this new charge may be, and report it to me: And the Amount being finally settled, Mr. Clarke shall have Authority from me to receive the Ballance from you.

"In the agreement made between you and Major General Pigot, or in that made by your aid-de-camp and Commissary

General with Major Morrison, whereby a Deposit of a Sum of Money was left in your hands to discharge the deficiencies in the delivery of Provisions, it was stipulated that such Ballance as might remain in favour of the British Government after the Provisions were certified to be received, should be paid immediately into my Hands. In this case I am no other way a Principal than relates to receiving the Money of the Deposit, and as it was necessary I should Report upon it to General Pigot the immediate demand of Payment need not appear extraordinary.

“The Accounts of Supplies for the Troops of the Convention, for the last three Months, I have before informed you should be liquidated as soon as possible after you please to send them—and you may recollect, I offered some time since to send with your permission, an officer directly to Sir Henry Clinton with the Accounts to prevent delay—I apprehend you have had no reason to complain of the correctness or willingness of Lieutenant General Burgoyne in settling your Accounts—You may depend on the same punctuality on my part.

“British Officers are and the British Government is extremely nice and pointed in what regards private Bargains or publick Treaties —private Trust or Publick Faith.

“I am Sir,

“Your most obedient, humble Servant

“W. PHILLIPS

“MAJOR GENERAL HEATH.”

Some of General Phillips' correspondence with General Heath, however, as well as Ensign Anburey's testimony in his Travels, reveal the disagreeable fact that the general possessed

a highly choleric temper. June 17, 1778, Lieutenant Richard Brown of the 21st Regiment, in company with two women in a chaise, attempted to drive past the line of American sentries; and though he knew it was against positive orders, and was warned of the consequences of persisting, he, nevertheless, continued his efforts, and consequently was shot by the sentry on duty, and died the same night; whereupon General Phillips addressed General Heath this letter.

"Cambridge, June 17, 1778.

"Murder and death has at length taken place. An officer riding out from the barracks on Prospect Hill, has been shot by an American centinel. I leave the horrors incident to that bloody disposition, which has joined itself to rebellion in these Colonies, to the feelings of all Europe. I do not ask for justice, for I believe every principle of it is fled from this Province.

"I demand liberty to send an officer to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, by way of the head-quarters of Gen. Washington, with my report of this murder.

"W. PHILLIPS, MAJ. GEN.

"MAJ. GEN. HEATH."

The next day, Phillips thus wrote to Heath in regard to the body of the deceased lieutenant:—"If it is to be allowed Christian burial, I would wish to deposit it in the vault appropriated for strangers, in the Protestant church at Cambridge. * * * As I am totally ignorant to whom it may be necessary to apply for leave to open the church, it obliges me to give you this trouble; and I hope, if permission is

granted, that it may be done so fully, as will prevent the sanguinary people of this country from insulting and treating with indignity the dead body of the unfortunate officer, who, in their rage, revengeful tempers, and barbarity, they have put to death."

General Heath took exception to this language as reflecting upon the honor and dignity of the United States, and confined Phillips to the limits of his house, gardens and yard, and to the direct road from his quarters to the quarters of the troops of the convention on Prospect and Winter Hills; "expecting from you," wrote Heath to him, "a parole, for propriety of conduct within those limits; which if you refuse, I shall be under the necessity of ordering you to narrower limits, until I can obtain the pleasure of the Honorable the Congress touching the matter, to whom I shall transmit your letter, and crave their directions."

General Phillips refused to sign the parole, and General Heath, in his Memoirs, after detailing the correspondence, thus gives the sequel of the affair: "The whole of the foregoing correspondence was published by order of Congress; and our General was informed that it was left for him to conduct towards the British General, as to the continuance of his arrest, as he might judge the honour of the United States required. Gen. Phillips continuing to exhibit the same temper, or it rather growing upon him, he was continued in his arrest, until the troops of the Convention were ordered to be removed to Charlottesville in Virginia."¹⁰

The relations of Gen. Phillips with Gen. Heath were not characteristic of those of all the generals of the Convention

troops with the American commander, as indicated by the following letter from the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

“CAMBRIDGE, *May 14th*, 1778.

“SIR.

“Major Hopkins, Dept. Quar. Mast'r General, has informed me, that you intended doing me the Honor of a visit at Cambridge. Give me leave to assure you that I shall be very happy in seeing you at my House, and beg that you will favor me with your Company at Dinner, on any Day which you will be so good as to fix.

“I have the Honor to be with Esteem

“Sir,

“Your most obed't

“humble Serv't

“RIEDEL.

“The Hon'ble

“MAJ. GEN'L HEATH,

“Boston.”

General Phillips appeared to better advantage in captivity in Virginia than he did in Massachusetts. Burgoyne's troops were quartered only a few miles from Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, and the relations between him and them were highly courteous. They had not been settled there many months before the governor, Patrick Henry, was urged to have them moved to some other part of the country, on the plea that the provisions they consumed were necessary for the American troops; and the order for removal was about

to be issued when prevented by the earnest protest of Jefferson ; which interest in their behalf called forth the warmest expressions of gratitude from the British and German officers.

The hospitalities of her house were gracefully and cordially tendered to these unfortunate strangers by Mrs. Jefferson ; and her husband threw open his library to them whence they got books to while away the tedium of their captivity. When General Phillips wrote his thanks to Jefferson for his generous kindness, we find the latter replying as follows : "The great cause which divides our countries is not to be decided by individual animosities. The harmony of private societies cannot weaken national efforts. To contribute by neighbourly intercourse and attention to make others happy, is the shortest and surest way of being happy ourselves. As these sentiments seem to have directed your conduct, we should be as unwise as illiberal, were we not to preserve the same temper of mind." The pleasant reciprocity of courtesies is also shown by a little note that has come down to us, addressed by Phillips to Jefferson, August 12, 1779. "The British officers," says the writer, "intend to perform a play next Saturday at the Barracks. I shall be extremely happy to have the honor to attend you and Mrs. Jefferson in my Box at the Theatre should you or that lady be inclined to go."

General Phillips was allowed to go to New York and reside on parole, in November, 1779, nearly a year before his exchange"; and he received his last promotion, that of lieutenant-colonel in the Artillery, July 6th, 1780.¹³ He was finally exchanged for General Lincoln, then recently captured by the British at Charleston ; and he wrote from New York under

date of October 31st, 1780, to Lord George Germaine as follows: "Major General de Riedesel and myself were exchanged on the 25th Instant, as you will perceive, my Lord, by the inclosed Copies of the Certificates of our Exchanges. The Commander in Chief has been pleased to put me in Orders to serve with this Army.

"Sir Henry Clinton having directed me to transmit to your Lordship a Report of the present Transaction relative to Exchanges, I take great Pleasure in having the Honor of communicating it to your Lordship: This Gratification arises as well from my own personal Feelings individually upon this happy Occasion, as from the general Satisfaction a Completion of this humane Business must diffuse in the Minds of those of his Majesty's Officers who will be released from their Captivity.

"Sir Henry Clinton has judged proper to direct, that the Troops of Convention be still considered as under my Orders; and that all Reports concerning their Situation should be sent to me, in order to be laid before his Excellency as usual. I take the Liberty of inclosing a Copy of Sir Henry Clinton's Letter to me, containing his Commands upon this Subject: I shall continue to pursue their Interests and Welfare with the same unwearied Zeal I have ever done.

"I beg Leave to repeat to you, my Lord, the high and grateful Sense I entertain of the many Favours conferred by your Lordship upon me and the Troops of Convention. The kind Protection and Solitude your Lordship has constantly manifested, both to me personally, and to those Troops in general, Claim our best Acknowledgments and warmest Thanks.

"I entreat you will, my Lord, represent me to the King under the most perfect Attachment to his Royal Person and Government, as one whose Heart is replete with Gratitude for his Majesty's most gracious Expressions of Approbation of my Conduct, and entirely devoted to his Majesty's Service."³

It is evident that the writer of this letter shared none of the bitterness of his former chief against the British ministry. Indeed, the testimony of Phillips and that of Burgoyne, in regard to the government's treatment of the Convention officers, seem to be of a diametrically opposite character.

The German General Riedesel wrote from New York, under date of November 10, 1780, as follows:—"General Phillips, after his exchange, was placed in command of the grenadiers, the light infantry and the 42d British regiment. This is the *elite* corps of the army. He is full of joy," &c.⁴

Campbell, in his History of Virginia (p. 169) in writing of Phillips, says, "he was an accomplished and able officer, but proud and passionate. Exasperated by a tedious captivity, upon his exchange he had been indulged by Sir Henry Clinton in a desire to invade Virginia and wreak his vengeance on a province where he had been so long detained, (unjustly, as he not without some reason believed,) a prisoner of war." He sailed for Virginia with about 2000 men, March 20th, 1781, effected a junction at Portsmouth with General Benedict Arnold, then wearing a British uniform, March 27th, and being the ranking officer at once assumed command of the combined force. He left Portsmouth, April 18th, marched *via* Burwell's Ferry to Williamsburg, thence to Barrett's ferry near the Chickahominy, and embarked for City Point,

whence he was to proceed by land to Petersburg and effect a junction with Lord Cornwallis, who was marching northward. General Phillips met with no substantial resistance and easily carried out his plans, committing great ravages and destroying much property on his route. Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe in his Journal details these operations; and General Phillips' orders show great observance of drill and discipline. Colonel Simcoe says that, at Barrett's Ferry, "General Phillips gave out the strictest orders to prevent privateers, the bane and disgrace of the country which employs them, from preceding the fleet, and being found upon any rivers marauding or plundering."⁵

Arnold, who remained with Phillips as second in command, wrote to Sir Henry Clinton from Petersburg, under date of May 12, 1781, as follows:—"I am extremely sorry to inform your Excellency that Major-General Phillips is reduced so low by a Fever, which seized him on the 2d instant, that he is incapable of Business, and the Physicians are not without Fears for his safety." On the 2d of May, the British army was at Bermuda Hundreds opposite City Point. Arnold gives a detail of each day's proceedings, and says, under date of May 8th, "Remained at Brandon. Major General Phillips being very ill, and unable to travel on Horseback, a Post-Chaise was procured for him." Towards the close of his letter Arnold adds: "Major-General Phillips is so weak and low, that it will be some considerable Time before he can go through the Fatigue of Business."⁶

We have often wondered with what feelings Phillips regarded Arnold on the Virginia expedition, as during the former's last previous active service he had been directly

opposed to the latter; and to Arnold, perhaps, as much as to any other one man, Phillips owed his captivity. Though American sources of information as to this feeling should be received with very great distrust, yet the following from a letter written by Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, to John Jay, while minister at Madrid, dated Philadelphia, July 11, 1781, possesses in a manner and to a limited extent, some probability. The writer says, in *The Thomson Papers*, to be found in the New York Historical Society's Publication Fund Series, vol. xi, p. 49,—“Clinton, flattered with the success his arms had met with in Virginia, and sensible how much weight the *eclat* of invading that state would give to the measures of administration in England at the opening of the new Parliament, sent Major General Phillips with large reinforcements to take the command. If we may credit reports, the two Generals were not very agreeable to each other. Arnold now saw that he lost the opportunity of enriching himself by plunder and the emoluments of command. And Phillips held in the utmost Contempt the abilities and character of the traitor. They continued some time together and advanced from Portsmouth to Petersburg, where Phillips was suddenly taken ill and in two or three days expired. Various reports were circulated respecting his death, some attributing it to a fever, others to poison administered by Arnold, on whom by this event the command again devolved. However that might be, it is pretty certain that no good understanding now subsisted between Arnold & his troops. The officers who came with Phillips, and especially those of his family, bore with reluctance the command of Arnold; and it is not improbable that this might have proved very advanta-

geous to us, had not Cornwallis in that critical moment come up and assumed the command."

General Phillips made his headquarters in Petersburg at the residence of Mrs. Bolling, called Bollingbrook, where he died May 13.¹⁷ Lafayette appeared on the heights opposite Petersburg, May 10th, and cannonaded the British quarters. The British General Graham, then captain-lieutenant of the 76th Highlanders, which formed a part of Phillips' force, says Lafayette directed "his fire principally against Mrs. Boland's house in which the general lay dangerously ill. A cannon ball passed through his bed chamber, but no further damage was done than killing a black woman, a slave of Mrs. Boland's."¹⁸ Campbell, in his *History of Virginia*, states that General Phillips' quarters were so exposed during this cannonading that he was removed into the cellar for safety. He lies buried in the old Blandford church-yard in Petersburg.

The character of General Phillips, from the American stand-point, is not altogether flattering. The relations between him and Thomas Jefferson, we have seen, were very cordial and polite while the former was a prisoner, but their official relations, when Phillips came to invade Virginia, were of a far different character, as shown by a letter from Jefferson, then Governor of the Commonwealth, to the Virginia delegates in Congress, dated May 10th, 1781, in which he charged Phillips with "rudeness;" and, from his personal knowledge, styled the British general "the proudest man of the proudest nation on earth." Governor Jefferson concluded his letter in regard to Phillips with this sentence:—"I would further observe to you, that this gentleman's letters to the Baron Steuben first, and afterwards to the Marquis Fayette, have been in a style so

intolerably insolent and haughty, that both these gentlemen have been obliged to inform him that if he thinks proper to address them again in the same spirit, all intercourse shall be discontinued.”⁹

In pleasant contrast with the above is the following incident told by Gen. (then Captain-Lieutenant) Graham, in regard to General Phillips during his Virginia expedition. “While a British column,” says Graham, “was crossing a road which ran into the main one, two carriages, each with four horses and outriders, happened to come in contact with it; a gentleman jumped out of the leading carriage, and, mounting an outrider’s horse, dashed into the woods; a shot or two were fired after him by the troops, but he escaped. A lady remained in the carriage, seemingly much agitated. The carriages were detained until the arrival of the General. When the General came up he immediately recognized the lady, having become acquainted with her when detained as a prisoner of war on parole in this part of the country. On asking her who the gentleman was, she replied: ‘He is my husband; we are just married.’ The General said: ‘It was foolish in him to run the risk he did by trying to escape, for it was not possible that he could long do so.’ ‘And if you get him,’ she said, ‘what will be done to him?’ ‘Madam,’ said the General, ‘he shall be sent immediately back to you, that you may enjoy the honeymoon.’ As soon as the column had passed, the carriages were allowed to proceed, not a horse being touched, although our artillery horses had not recovered from the effects of the sea-voyage.”¹⁰

Whatever may be the American view of General Phillips’ character, the British estimate of it is very high.

Captain Duncan, in his History of the Royal Artillery, calls him "as brave and honourable a soldier as ever served in the regiment;" and thus concludes in regard to him:—"From the glorious day at Minden his professional career of more than one and twenty years had been one of credit to his corps, honour to himself, and usefulness to his country. He had been thirteen years in the Regiment before the battle of Minden, so that his total service when he died, exceeded thirty-four years. He was beloved by all who served with him, and was a model for artillerymen to imitate, in gallantry, ability, and *progress*." [G. U. ²C. Z. 207-214. ³B. H. ⁴A. M. ⁵F. C. 128. ⁶F. B. 470. ⁷B. N. app. 16. ⁸B. N. app. 48. ⁹B. N. app. 54. ¹⁰F. P. P. 166, 169, 175, 176, 177: H. J. 194. ¹¹K. B. 50, 53: G. O. 154-162: L. 33. ¹²K. N. 201. ¹³H. N. 530. ¹⁴K. N. 208. ¹⁵L. B. 129-146. ¹⁶H. O. 601. ¹⁷B. V. ¹⁸F. Y. 247. ¹⁹G. O. 221.]

NO. 2.

CAPT. THOMAS BLOMEFIELD.

Thomas Blomefield was born at Milton, in Kent, June 16, 1744; and was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Blomefield, A. M., rector, as well as patron, of Hartley and Chalk, both in Kent, and chaplain to the Earl of Dorset, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of John Matthews, and widow of William Branch.^{2,3} Being originally intended for the navy, young Blomefield was sent to sea in the Cambridge, commanded by

his father's intimate friend, Sir Piercy Brett ; but the boy's own inclination was towards the army, so his father procured his admission to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich,³ which he entered as a gentleman cadet Feb. 9, 1758.⁴ His conduct and abilities there soon attracted the notice of the celebrated Muller, then professor of Artillery and Fortification, who ever after entertained for him a strong friendship and regard.³ In the unusually short period of less than eleven months he obtained a commission in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Artillery as a lieutenant fire-worker, Jan. 1, 1759 ; ⁴⁵ and soon after, when only fifteen years old, he was appointed to the command of a bomb vessel at the bombardment of Havre de Grace under Admiral Rodney. Subsequently in the same year he joined the fleet in Quiberon Bay under Sir Edward Hawke, engaged in blockading the French force under M. de Conflans.³ He was promoted to a 2d lieutenant in the Artillery Aug. 1, 1762 ; ⁵ went the same year to the West Indies with Admiral Rodney, and was at the capture of Martinique and the Havannah ; and subsequently of Pensacola and Mobile.³ May 28, 1766, he became a 1st lieut. in the 2d Battalion,⁵ and in 1771 he was fortunate enough to be introduced to the notice of Gen. Conway, then Master General of the Ordnance, who appointed him one of his aids, and received him into his family upon terms of parental kindness.³ Jan. 29. 1773, he was advanced to a captain-lieutenancy in the 3d Battalion,⁵ and upon Lord Townshend's succeeding to be Master General, Blomefield became an aid to that nobleman. In the spring of 1776 he embarked with his company for Canada, though his position as aid-de-camp would, according to the established usages of the army, have exempted him from the necessity of leaving Eng-

land. June 3d, 1776, immediately upon his arrival in Canada, he was appointed major of brigade to Major General Phillips.*

In a letter written about this time by him to a near relative at home, he says :—" General Phillips took the earliest opportunity after my arrival of appointing me Major of Brigade, a post exceedingly eligible in my situation, as it puts it in my power to render myself useful, though at the expense of my ease, which in my case I do not in the least regret ; for had that been my object, I might have possibly remained at home. I am happily attached to a very genteel, intelligent, active man, and as every detail of the service passes through my inspection, and my duty is my first and sole object in coming over, I am rather to be envied than not ; for however captivating a town life may be to many, I declare I feel greater pleasure in the bustle of a camp than in the dull round in which I should have been involved ; and which nothing but the society of those I esteem could give a relish to." Upon his arrival in Canada he was employed in constructing floating batteries which he had planned before he left England. When the army went into winter quarters he returned to England, bearing with him to Lord Townshend, the Master General of the Ordnance, a most flattering letter from Gen. Phillips, in which the writer referred to the "great advantage derived from his" [Capt. Blomefield's] "knowledge in his profession," and expressed the hope that his Lordship would permit the captain to return to Canada in the spring. "I think," wrote Gen. Phillips, "his own honour is concerned in his doing so, but a still more material reason may be given, that the King's service will suffer by his absence."³

Early in the spring of 1777 Capt. Blomefield again sailed to Canada, taking with him a gun and carriage calculated for the

double purpose of land and water service, and which he had constructed during the winter at the particular desire of Sir Guy Carleton and Gen. Burgoyne.³ He joined Burgoyne's army at Ticonderoga July 23,⁷ and took an active part in the campaign, acting as major of brigade to Gen. Phillips until that officer issued his order of Sept. 14, 1777, of which the following is an extract :—" Capt. Blomefield, Major of Brigade, having desired in the present want of Captains to do his Duty in the Park, the Major General allows of it, and he will be ordered to such parts of the Artillery occasionally as may most require it : he is therefore to make himself acquainted with the Right and Centre Divisions in order that he may be posted to either of them when ordered."⁸ At the battle of Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7, Capt. Blomefield was wounded, and Sergeant Lamb in his Journal of the American War thus writes : " Captain Blomefield of the artillery, received a wound which was very remarkable, a shot passing through both cheeks, without hurting the inside of his mouth."⁹ Notwithstanding Sergeant Lamb sometimes acted as an assistant to the surgeons, Madame Riedesel's account of Capt. Blomefield's wound is much the most probable. She says in her Letters and Journals, page 132,— " One day I undertook the care of Major Plumpfield " [Blomefield], " adjutant of General Phillips, through both of whose cheeks a small musket ball had passed, shattering his teeth and grazing his tongue. He could hold nothing whatever in his mouth. The matter from the wound almost choked him, and he was unable to take any other nourishment, except a little broth, or something liquid. We had Rhine wine. I gave him a bottle of it, in hopes that the acidity of the wine would cleanse his wound. He kept some

continually in his mouth ; and that alone acted so beneficially that he became cured, and I again acquired one more friend." He was included in the Saratoga Convention and signed the Cambridge Parole. In the spring of 1779 he returned to England and resumed his duties as aid-de-camp to Lord Townshend, who, in the following year, appointed him Inspector of Artillery and of the Brass Foundry,³ his commission bearing date March 5, 1780.⁴ This position he held during the remainder of his life, and to his efforts and ability are due many and great improvements wrought in the construction of ordnance.³

He became a captain in the Royal Artillery Jan. 19, 1780 ; and until 1785, his was No. 8 Company, 1st Battalion, now "A" Battery, 11th Brigade ; after that he was transferred to No. 3 Company, 1st Battalion, now "7" Battery, 2d Brigade.⁵ He became a major in the army March 19, 1783, in the artillery Sept 25, 1793, a lieutenant-colonel Dec 5, 1793, a colonel in the army Jan. 26, 1797, in the artillery Nov. 12, 1800, and a major general Sept. 25, 1803. On the formation of the 9th Battalion of the Royal Artillery Gen. Blomefield was appointed its colonel commandant, his commission bearing date June 1, 1806.⁵ His last and most important service was at the siege of Copenhagen in 1803, the command of the artillery destined for that service, having been conferred on him July 28th in that year. For his share of the complete success that crowned that expedition he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and a baronetcy ; his creation as a baronet dating from Nov. 3, 1807.¹¹ Burke, however, says the date of his creation as a baronet was Nov. 14, 1807. He attained the rank of lieutenant-general July 25, 1810 ;⁵ and he

died after an illness of only three days at Shooter's Hill, in Kent, Aug. 24, 1822, in the 79th year of his age.³ By his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married July 27, 1788, and who was the second daughter of the Right Hon. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, he left an only son, who succeeded him in the baronetcy.⁴

Capt. Duncan's History of the Royal Artillery contains this summing up of the character of Sir Thomas Blomefield: "He was a good mathematician, an excellent chemist, and most laborious in experiments in gunnery. His private character is thus described by one who knew him intimately:—'There was no display of his merits shown in his manner; all his duties and improvements were silently and unassumingly carried on, with a natural reserve and undeviating correctness, so that it was only the close observer who could duly appreciate his value. His being generally and greatly esteemed arose as much from his being the perfect gentleman as from the ingenuous turn of his mind, for there was no glare or obtrusive view, but rather a strong desire to improve the service with as little parade as possible'." [I Y. 834. ¹B R. ²E P. 370. ³G U. ⁴B. H. ⁵F. E. 4. ⁶B N. 67. ⁷E. Z. ⁸G. V. 180 ⁹C Z. 177, 174. ¹⁰D A. 158-167.]

NO. 3.

LORD VISCOUNT PETERSHAM,

THE THIRD EARL OF HARRINGTON.

Lord Petersham, achieved a brilliant career. Among the dignities, honors and offices he held at the time of his death, were the following:—third Earl of Harrington, Viscount Petersham and Baron Harrington; a Knight Grand Cross of the Illustrious Guelphic Order; a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath; a Privy Councillor of England and Ireland; a General in the army; Colonel of the First Regiment of Life Guards; Captain, Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle; a member of the Consolidated Board of General Officers; a Commissioner of the Royal Military College, &c., &c.

Charles Stanhope sprung from a distinguished line. He was a kinsman of the celebrated Philip Dormer Stanhope, 3d Earl of Chesterfield, having been descended from a half-brother of the first earl. His grandfather, the first Earl of Harrington, was a general in the army, and held many important civil and military positions, having been entrusted with several embassies to different courts, and having been Lord President of the Council. His father was likewise a general in the army, and both father and grandfather were colonels of the 2d Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. He was the eldest son of William Stanhope, 2d Earl of Harrington, by his wife, Caroline Fitzroy, eldest daughter of the 2d Duke of Grafton, and was born

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March 17, 1753. On his mother's side he was the eleventh in lineal descent from George, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV.²

Like several of his ancestors the subject of this sketch entered the military profession. At the age of sixteen he became an ensign in the Second, or Coldstream Foot Guards, his commission bearing date Nov. 13, 1769, his rank in the army being that of a lieutenant. He was promoted to a captaincy in the 29th Foot July 26, 1773⁴, but did not join that organization until its return from America at the close of that year, when he was appointed to the light company.

In 1774 Lord Petersham was returned to Parliament just before its dissolution, on a vacancy for the borough of Thetford.¹ In December, 1776, a new writ was ordered for Westminster upon the elevation of Lord Percy to the Dukedom of Northumberland, and Lord Petersham was elected to the vacancy, and continued to represent Westminster till his own elevation to the upper house in 1779, upon the death of his father.⁵

Early in 1776 his lordship exchanged the light company for the grenadiers of the 29th¹, and in February of that year the regiment embarked at Chatham for Quebec, Lord Petersham with the grenadiers being on board the man of war *Isis*, which, however, did not sail from Spithead till the 11th of March. The *Isis* arrived in the bason of Quebec May 6th, and was the first troop ship to reach Canada from England that year. Upon the day of its arrival the grenadiers of the 29th landed, and, with the troops of the garrison and the marines of the ships of war, advanced against the Americans on

the Heights of Abraham and compelled them to abandon the investment of Quebec. Lord Petersham served through 1776 in Canada, and the next year under Burgoyne; acting from July 12, 1777, as a supernumery aid-de-camp to that unfortunate general. He was included in the surrender at Saratoga, but escaped captivity, as he was entrusted with despatches to Lord George Germaine, authorized under the articles of capitulation. He arrived in London, Dec. 24, 1777⁶, and testified before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1779, in regard to Burgoyne's disastrous campaign.⁷ Jan. 16, 1778, he purchased a captaincy in the 3d Foot Guards, which gave him the rank of a lieut.-colonel in the army.^{1, 4}

By the death of his father, April 1, 1779, he became Earl of Harrington, and on the 23d of the following May, he married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Fleming, Bart., of Brompton Park.

The next year, letters of service were issued to raise a number of new regiments, one of which, the 85th, was given to his lordship¹, who soon completed it to upwards of 1000 men⁸, and, accompanied by his countess, shortly after embarked for Jamaica¹ with it as lieut.-colonel commanding, his commission bearing date Aug 30, 1779.⁴ On his arrival at Jamaica the Earl of Harrington was made an acting brigadier, with the command of the flank companies of all the regiments¹, though the London Chronicle tells us that his commission as a brigadier-general was not signed till Sept. 5, 1781.⁹ The tropical climate of the West Indies wrought great havoc in the 85th, and, within a few months after its arrival at Jamaica, nine-tenths of the regiment died or became unfit for duty.²⁰

The remainder, after drafting such of the men as were fit for service into other regiments, was ordered home and embarked on board the ill fated *Ville de Paris*, though fortunately its commander and a number of officers did not accompany it. The earl's health having become impaired, he, with his countess, returned to England, where he arrived June 19, 1781."

Nov. 20, 1782, he was appointed an aid-de-camp to the king, which gave him the rank of colonel in the army; and March 12, 1783, he became the colonel of the 65th Foot, which regiment he accompanied to Ireland; but when it was ordered to America in 1785 his lordship obtained his majesty's permission to return to England.' Jan. 28, 1788, he became the colonel of the 29th Foot³, then just returned from America. In the summer of 1792, a camp was formed on Bagshot Heath, and the first of the two brigades into which the infantry was divided, was commanded by Lord Harrington.' Dec. 5, 1792, the king evinced a further proof of his regard for his lordship by appointing him colonel of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards, and he became a major-general Oct. 12, 1793.⁴ During the campaigns of the Duke of York in Flanders, the Earl of Harrington was sent on a private mission to the duke, and remained with him for a short time.' He became a lieutenant-general Jan. 1, 1798⁵; and he was employed as second in command of the London Staff, his Royal Highness, Field Marshal, the Duke of Gloucester, being first. Oct. 24, 1798, he was appointed a privy councillor⁶, and Sept. 12, 1803, a general in the army.⁴ In the latter part of 1805 he was employed as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor of Germany, and, early in the next year, to the King of Prussia."

Later in 1806 he was sent to Ireland as commander-in-chief of the forces in that part of the empire, of which his grandfather had twice been viceroy, viz. in 1747, and 1749. March 17, 1812, his lordship was appointed governor of Windsor Castle on the death of the Earl of Cardigan; and he was the same year succeeded in the chief command in Ireland by the Earl of Hopetoun. At the coronation of George IV, in 1821, the Earl of Harrington was the bearer of the Great Standard of England. His Lordship died at Brighton Sept. 14th, 1829, aged 76 years, and he was buried at Elvaston, the family seat in Derbyshire, where a monument by Canova has been erected to his memory.

By his countess, who was a conspicuous lady in court circles, being a great favorite of Queen Charlotte, and who died Feb. 3, 1824, the Earl of Harrington had eight sons and three daughters. His eldest son succeeded to the earldom and obtained the rank of major-general in the army. Several of his other sons likewise entered the military service and obtained high rank.

That the Earl of Harrington was an accomplished soldier there can be no question. His skill as a tactician was great, and, when he was with the 65th, General Sir David Dundas, then adjutant-general of the army in Ireland, wishing to bring forward the system of tactics afterwards adopted in the army, the Earl of Harrington, who approved highly of it, at once tried it in his regiment, and so demonstrated its utility that it was introduced into other regiments, and finally in June, 1792, it was, by his majesty's orders, directed to be implicitly followed by every regiment in the service.

Unlike many officers of high social rank in the British army, his lordship seemed to cultivate the acquaintance, and to enjoy the fellowship of those under his command. Anburey, who served for a while in the grenadier company of the 29th, which, he writes "I am proud in saying is commanded by Lord Peter-sham," thus refers to the Earl of Harrington in the Dedication of his Travels :—"Having had the honor to serve under your Lordship, it was my fortune, in common with all who were in the same situation, to become attached to your Lordship by personal obligations. * * * Examples of bravery, though none can be more conspicuous than those your Lordship shewed, abound in every class of a British army: more rare, though not less worthy of imitation, is the sort of attachment your Lordship has always shewn to your corps. It has been your praise, my Lord, when out of the field, to forego the pleasures which high rank, fortune, youth and accomplishments opened to your view, and to brave the severity of climate, through tedious winters, in mere military fellowship. In retired quarters, you found the care of your men to be at once the true preparation for your country's service, and a most gratifying enjoyment to your own benevolence: while on their parts, they considered their leader as their best friend and benefactor." [E. T. 365: L. S. 24-27: T. 121. ²B. R. ³M. H. 261. ⁴B. H. ⁵A. N. 150. ⁶H. H. 614. ⁷B. N. 48. ⁸H. L. 187. ⁹H. P. 234. ¹⁰H. H. 624. ¹¹H. O. 585. ¹²F O.]

NO. 4.

SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

Sir William Howe was the fourth son of Emanuel Scrope, 2d Viscount Howe, by his wife, Mary Sophia Charlotte, eldest daughter, according to Burke, of the Hanoverian Baron Kilmansegge, Master of the Horse to George I, as Elector of Hanover. Sir William's mother, it is said, was an illegitimate daughter of George I, by his mistress, the Hanoverian Baroness Kilmansegge, and consequently first cousin once removed of George III; a fact which doubtless explained the reason of much promotion that merit, certainly, did not warrant. Sir, William's eldest brother was George Augustus, 3d Viscount Howe, who fell so bravely at Ticonderoga, July 6, 1758, while commanding a brigade; and his next older brother was Richard, Admiral Lord Howe, 4th Viscount, who won such a signal naval victory over the French.

Sir William was born Aug. 10, 1729, and was educated at Eton; but being intended for a military life he was taken from that seminary very young and was presented with his first commission by the Duke of Cumberland, who gave him a cornetcy in his own regiment of light dragoons, in which he was promoted to a lieutenancy Sept 21, 1747. This regiment was disbanded in 1749, shortly after the conclusion of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, but he was promoted on June 1st, 1750, to a captaincy in the 20th Foot; and on the 4th of January, 1756, to be

major in the 60th Foot, which regiment was afterwards renumbered as the 58th. He became the lieutenant-colonel of his regiment Dec. 17, 1757, and a colonel in America only, Jan. 27, 1758. He served in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758; and in 1759 he commanded the light infantry under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. In 1761 he was one of the brigadiers in the expedition against Belleisle on the coast of France, and in 1762 he was the adjutant-general of the army operating against Havana. He became a colonel in the army Feb. 19, 1762; the colonel of the 46th Foot, Nov. 21, 1764; lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight in 1768; and a major-general May 25, 1772.

Embarking at Portsmouth, Gen. Howe, together with Gens. Clinton and Burgoyne, left England for Boston, April 20, 1775, in the *Cerberus* frigate of 28 guns, arriving at his destination May 25th. The *Cerberus* became somewhat celebrated for its freight of unsuccessful generals; and among the numerous squibs hit off upon it, this was one of the most clever:—

“Behold the *Cerberus* the Atlantic plough,
“Her precious cargo, Burgoyne, Clinton, Howe,
“Bow, wow, wow.”

Gen. Howe became the colonel of the 23d Foot, or Royal Welch Fusiliers, May 11, 1775, and the next month he commanded the British troops in their memorable assault on Bunker Hill, where he displayed more personal bravery than soldierly skill. He succeeded Gen. Gage in the chief command of the troops in America in Oct., 1775. “The evacuation of Boston,” he tells us, “was the first material occurrence after my appointment to the command of his Majesty’s forces in North America. On the 9th of Nov., 1775, I received the

Secretary of State's order dated the 5th of September, to abandon that town before winter, and to move the army to New York, or to some other place to the southward; my own reasons, indeed, against opening the campaign from Boston, had been in the meantime generally set forth in a letter to his lordship of the 9th of October. The late arrival of the order and the deficiency of transport tonnage, rendered the removal of the troops impracticable till the 17th of March following, when I embarked with about 6000 rank and file fit for duty, and about 900 sick." Gen. Howe became a general in America only, Jan. 1, 1776, and a little later in that year he and his brother Richard, Lord Viscount Howe, were appointed commissioners "for restoring peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America." For gaining the battle of Long Island he received many encomiums from his Majesty, together with the order of the Bath. Lord George Germaine wrote to him under date of Oct. 18, 1776, in these flattering terms:—"Those who in the early part of your life, from an observation of the inborn courage and active spirit which you manifested in inferior stations, were led to form favourable conjectures relative to your future exploits, will, with me, be happy to find their expectations so fully answered, and will be agreeably surprised to see you making such hasty advances towards military excellence, by thus uniting to the fire of youth all the wisdom and conduct of the most experienced commander." Subsequently, on the same day, Lord George again addressed him. "It is impossible," wrote Lord Germaine, "that any person who has daily attended to your military conduct, and found it from your entrance into the army invariably directed by an unintermitted ambition to serve your King and country,

can imagine that your meritorious behaviour has been unnoticed by his Majesty, or that his gracious approbation has not been frequently communicated to you by his ministers in their respective despatches.

“ His Majesty, however, being desirous that the high sense which he has of your successful endeavours to serve him should be of still greater notoriety, has thought proper to afford you a more publick testimony of his Royal favour, and has, therefore, out of his special regard for merit wherever it is found, been graciously pleased to nominate you to be one of the Knights Companions of the most honourable Order of the Bath.”

Sir William Howe became a lieutenant-general in the army Aug. 29, 1777, and a little later he was put upon a Board of Commissioners “to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders” then existing in certain of the American colonies. His operations in America are too well known to need rehearsal here. His failure to co-operate with Burgoyne interests us most. Gen. Howe says: “In my letter to the Secretary of State of the 2d of April, 1777, I enclosed a copy of a confidential letter which I wrote on the 5th of the same month spontaneously to Sir Guy Carleton; I say spontaneously, because I had not at that time received any official information concerning the plan of the northern expedition, which I conceived was to take place that year. It may be recollected, that the substance of this letter was, that I should probably be in Pennsylvania at the time when the northern army would be ready to enter the province of New York; that little assistance was to be expected from me to facilitate their approach, as a want of sufficient strength in my own army

would probably not admit of my detaching a corps to act up Hudson's River in the beginning of the campaign. On the 5th of June I received a copy of the Secretary of State's letter to Sir Guy Carleton, dated the 26th of March, 1777, wherein he communicates to him the plan of the northern expedition, and adds, 'that he will write to Sir Wiliam Howe by the first packet.' I must observe, that this copy of a letter to Sir Guy Carleton, though transmitted to me, was not accompanied with any instructions whatsoever; and that the letter intended to have been written to me by the first packet, and which was probably to have contained some instructions, was never sent." The reason these instructions were never sent, is brought to light in Lord E. Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*. A memorandum made by Lord Shelburne in regard to that disastrous blunder, says,—“The inconsistent orders given to Generals Howe and Burgoyne could not be accounted for except in a way which it must be difficult for any person who is not conversant with the negligence of office to comprehend. It might appear incredible, if his own secretary and the most respectable persons in office had not assured me of the fact, and what corroborates it is that it can be accounted for in no other way. It requires as much experience in business to comprehend the very trifling causes which have produced the greatest events as it does strength of reason, to develop the very deepest designs.’ The memorandum proceeds to state that Lord George Germaine, ‘having among other peculiarities a particular aversion to be put out of his way on any occasion, had arranged to call at his office on his way to the country in order to sign the despatches; but as those addressed to Howe had not been ‘fair copied’ and he was not disposed to be balked of his projected

visit into Kent, they were not signed then and were forgotten on his return to town.'"

Sir William Howe was relieved as commander-in-chief in America the latter part of May, 1778, by Sir Henry Clinton, and on the 24th of that month he embarked at Philadelphia in the frigate *Andromeda*, for England, where he arrived July 1st following. A few days preceding his departure a superb entertainment called the *Mischianza* (Italian for medley) was given in his honor, by some of the officers of the army. Its like was never seen in America before or since, and the unfortunate Major André, then a captain in the 7th, or Royal Fusiliers, has left a very full and graphic description of this mixed entertainment in a letter written at Philadelphia to a friend in London, and dated May 23, 1778. This letter was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1778, vol. 48, p. 353, and his correspondent was probably Miss Seward. Judge Jones, the tory historian of New York during the Revolutionary War, and Mr. E. F. DeLancey, the editor of that interesting work, likewise afford much insight to those brilliant festivities. Judge Jones characterizes the affair as a "triumphal raree show, a raree show laughed at by one-half of the army, ridiculed by the inhabitants, damned by the loyalists, and made a mockery of, by the rebels."

Sir William Howe won no laurels in America. His victories were few, and the results reaped from them were small. His behavior at Bunker Hill evinced much personal gallantry, but he had no military genius, and he loved his ease. Judge Jones, the loyalist, denounced his inactivity at Boston in these terms: "Nothing seemed to engross his attention but the faro table,

the play house, the dancing assembly and Mrs. Loring," the wife of Joshua Loring, whom the judge avers the general appointed a commissary of prisoners in return for his liberality in the use of his beautiful wife. The judge later on, sums up Sir William and Mrs. Loring, by referring "to the celebrated Mrs. Loring, who as Cleopatra of old, lost Mark Antony the world, so did this illustrious courtesan lose Sir William Howe the honour, the laurels, and the glory of putting an end to one of the most obstinate rebellions that ever existed."

Sir William was graciously received by the king on his return to England, and the newspapers of the day inform us of his having conferences of several hours in length with his majesty, and of his receiving other marks of royal favor. Sir William was elected a member of parliament for Nottingham, to succeed his brother, who was killed at Ticonderoga. on a new writ ordered Nov. 28th, 1758; and he was re-elected for three succeeding parliaments, serving till July 8, 1780. On his return from America he defended his conduct in the House of Commons; and in 1780 was published "The Narrative of Lieut.-General Sir William Howe, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the 29th of April, 1779. relative to his conduct during his late command of the King's troops in North America: to which are added some observations upon a pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman;" which ran through two editions during that year. April 23, 1782, Sir William was appointed lieut.-general of the Ordnance, a position he held until Nov., 1804; and he was sworn of the Privy Council, June 21, 1782. He became the colonel of the 19th Light Dragoons April 21, 1786; a general in the army Oct. 12, 1793; and governor of Berwick in 1795, from which he was removed to

the government of Plymouth in 1808. Admiral, Lord Viscount Howe, Sir William's older brother, died August 5, 1799, when the Irish honors of Viscount Howe and Baron Clenawly, with a baronetcy, reverted to Sir William as 5th Viscount Howe. After a long severe illness, often attended with the most excruciating pain, Sir William, or Lord Howe, as he should now be called, died at his house at Twickenham, on the 12th of July, 1814, in the 85th year of his age. He married Frances, daughter of the Right Hon. William Conolly, of Castletown, County Kildare, Ireland, by the Lady Anne Wentworth, eldest daughter of William, 3d Earl of Strafford, by whom he had no issue; and the titles of Viscount Howe and Baron Clenawly, consequently, became extinct. Doubtless Sir William Howe's left-handed connection with royalty through his grandmother's frailty, rather than any merit of his own, was the secret of his rapid getting on in the world; and every American owes a debt of gratitude to his military incompetence. [B. H: E. K. 93: D. D. 85: B. R.: G. H. 68: G. R. 716, 252, 253, 351, 722: G. S. 86, 423: H. J. 8, 14, 16, 19, 319: K. C. 13, 66: B. M. xx: G. L. 3, 15: F. O.: A. S.: A. N. 176: A. P. 176, 227, 330, 395: A. R. 28, 32: J. 1111.]

NO. 5.

CAPTAIN EDWARD FOY.

Edward Foy enlisted as a private in the Royal Regiment of Artillery in July, 1750; and his connection with that corps was severed only by death. He became a gentleman cadet in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in March, 1754; a lieutenant fireworker in the artillery March 1st, 1755; a second lieutenant May 12th, 1756; a first lieutenant April 2d, 1757; and a captain-lieutenant January 1st, 1759.¹ He served with distinction at the battle of Minden, August 1st, 1759, where, though only a capt.-lieut. his command consisted of four light 12 pounders, three light 6 pounders, and two howitzers. In the General Orders issued by Prince Ferdinand the day after the battle, thanking the army for its gallantry, Capt. Foy was particularized; and subsequently a gratuity of 500 crowns was presented to him. He became a captain February 2d, 1764, and took command of No. 4 Company, 3d Battalion, now "4" Battery, 3d Brigade, and served at Minorca.* He was bridge master of the Royal Artillery from 1761 to 1770.¹

When the Earl of Dunmore assumed the governorship of New York, in 1770, Capt. Foy accompanied him as private secretary. A desire for pelf seemed to actuate these officials, and some illustrations will best indicate the reciprocity of service between them in a common object. The royal governor, for example, made a grant of 51,000 acres of land in

the neighborhood of Lake Champlain to 51 associates, of whom Foy was one; and within four days thereafter the whole 51 had conveyed their interests to Lord Dunmore.³ Again upon the earl's arrival at New York he appointed Goldsbrow Banyar, Register of the Prerogative Court, "upon terms," as Gov. Tryon wrote to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, "beneficial to Capt. Foy, who came out as Private Secretary to that nobleman."⁴

The advent of these two worthies, Lord Dunmore and Capt. Foy, to Virginia, is thus not flatteringly related by Burk in his *History of Virginia*. "Lord Dunmore, was removed from the government of New York to that of Virginia. From his conduct subsequent to this appointment, it would seem that this removal was not entirely agreeable to him. Instead of hastening to his new government, which longed to behold a man of whom fame had spoken in flattering terms, he lingered for several months amidst the pleasures and amusements of that gay and wealthy city, and prepared the minds of the Virginians for that jealousy and dislike, which afterwards were changed into the extremest disgust and abhorrence. He arrived in 1772, having previously sent on his lady and family under the care of his private secretary, Capt. Edward Foy. Foy had distinguished himself at the battle of Minden, and was one of the three captains, whom Prince Ferdinand had praised for their gallantry on that day. In the present agitation of the public mind, when incidents otherwise trifling and apparently uninteresting, would become from their connection with government, important, it was regarded as matter of speculation, that an officer of reputation should abandon his government of New Hampshire, to which

he had been appointed, for the obscure situation of clerk in Virginia; and there were not wanting many, who asserted that the military talents of Foy were to be employed in carrying into effect those measures of coercion devised by the British parliament. Other circumstances served to strengthen those suspicions. To render the situation of Foy more comfortable, new fees were created, unknown to the constitution of the colony, and a salary of £500 per annum created without the cognizance of the assembly and directly contrary to established laws and usages. The opinions of the favourite too, on the subject of colonial claims, were highly offensive; opinions which, notwithstanding his supposed station of private adviser to his lordship, and the obvious impolicy of the procedure, he used no pains to conceal. Such was the situation of affairs when the governor thought proper to summon an assembly. The first proceedings of this body, after the customary formalities, evinced their determined dislike and opposition. An attack was made on the governor, in the person of his secretary, and a list of the fees created for the benefit of clerks, demanded in words strong and explicit. In canvassing these measures little ceremony was used; the conduct of the governor was pronounced illegal, and a committee was immediately appointed to lay before him the sense of the house, which on this occasion was almost unanimous. The governor's answer was mild and conciliatory. The fees complained of, he understood to have been established by his predecessors, and ought, he said, to be ascribed to his short residence in the country, which had not yet enabled him to acquire that knowledge of the laws and constitution so necessary for a just and able administration. He concluded by declaring that the fees should be withdrawn."³ Burk must be in error in supposing that Foy's declining the

lieut.-governorship of New Hampshire awakened any suspicion on the part of the Virginians, as he was not gazetted as lieut.-governor of New Hampshire until July, 1774, nearly two years after his arrival in Virginia, and four years after he had become Lord Dunmore's secretary.⁶ After the commencement of actual hostilities in New England between the colonies and the mother country, great distrust arose between the Virginians and their royal governor; and at last, about two o'clock in the morning of June 8th, 1775, the earl with his countess, family, private secretary, and some domestics, left Williamsburg and went on board the man of war Fowey lying at Yorktown, much to the indignation of the inhabitants of the state. Several strong communications passed between the earl and the House of Burgesses, in one of which presented by the latter—"They disclaimed the idea of insinuating that the governor would designedly misrepresent facts; yet it was much to be feared that he had too easily given credit to some designing persons, who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his confidence." "This attaches," says Burk in a foot note, "to Captain Foy, his secretary, who was governor *de facto*—an Englishman of violent passions and hostile prejudices against us." Capt. Foy proceeded to Boston in the Fowey, and, a little later, returned to England.⁸

He accompanied the Brunswick troops from Germany to England, and thence to Quebec, where he arrived June 1st, 1776, having gone to Canada as commissary of the troops there.⁹ His service as commissary was very brief, however, as he was appointed deputy adjutant-general to the army in

Canada June 3, 1776¹⁰; and, soon after, commissary of musters, which latter position he resigned when promoted to adjutant-general, June 6, 1777, on Lieut.-Col. Maclean's becoming a brigadier." Gen. Burgoyne wished to have Foy join him upon his expedition, but Sir Guy Carleton, who had asked to be relieved of his command and was preparing to return to England, could not then spare his adjutant-general, and so wrote Burgoyne August 16th, 1777.¹¹

Capt. Foy felt that the important position of adjutant-general should be filled by an officer of higher army rank than he held, and as he had failed, though aided by Sir Guy Carleton, in securing the desired rank, he resigned the office and accepted the position of barrack master general, Oct. 11, 1777.¹² In the latter part of that year he visited England for the last time. The armed ship *Genoa Galley*, on which he took passage from Quebec, was attacked by an American privateer, but young Edward Pellew, then a midshipman, afterwards Lord Exmouth and Vice-Admiral of England, who was a fellow passenger, assumed command of the crew and beat off the assailant.¹⁴ He landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, Dec. 14, 1777, and arrived at London, three days later, with Sir Guy Carleton's dispatches, where he had a long interview with his majesty at St. James, being introduced by his old friend, the Earl of Dunmore¹⁵; and he sailed from Spithead, in his majesty's ship *Montreal*, on his return, April 28, 1778,¹⁶ arriving at Quebec on the 26th of the following June.¹⁷

Capt. Foy was appointed secretary of the Governor General of Canada, July 1st, 1778¹⁸; and he died April 27th of the next year.¹⁹ The following general order informs us how the last sad rites were performed for this officer, whom Gen. Haldimand pronounced an 'able and faithful secretary.'

“HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC, 28th April, 1779.

Parole, St. Francis.

C. S. Vercheres.

A Detachment with arms from the Troops in Garrison in the following proportions, to attend Capt. Foy's funeral to morrow afternoon, and to parade at half an hour after four o'clock.

	Capt.	Sub.	Sergt.	Drum.	Privates.
Royal Artillery		1	1		18
34th Regiment	1	2	3	2	50
Anhalt Zerbit		1	2	2	32
Total	1.	4.	6.	4.	100.

All the rest of the officers and soldiers are desired to attend at the same hour.”⁸⁰

Capt. Foy married Miss Harriet Van Horn⁸¹, and she accompanied the Baroness Riedesel to Canada in the spring of 1777, where both ladies went to join their husbands. The Baroness, in her Journal, however, gives anything but a flattering description of her travelling companion.⁸² Mrs. Foy returned to England in the October following her husband's death⁸³, and remained a widow until May 2d, 1783, when she married Colonel Thomas Carleton; for a sketch of whom see *ante*, page 19. [⁸⁴G. U. ⁸⁵C. Z. 208, 212, 214, 222, 224. ⁸⁶M. 271. ⁸⁷I. R. 323. ⁸⁸B. P. 368-370. ⁸⁹D. U. 335. ⁹⁰B. Q. 29, 39. ⁹¹B. Q. 57. ⁹²K. M. 34, 36, 39. ⁹³E. Z. ⁹⁴F. E. 377. ⁹⁵F. B. 664. ⁹⁶F. H. 5: F. E. 87. ⁹⁷I. T. 42. ⁹⁸H. H. 590, 598. ⁹⁹J. M. ¹⁰⁰J. N. ¹⁰¹F. E. 100. ¹⁰²F. H. 102. ¹⁰³F. E. 120. ¹⁰⁴C. U. 291 note. ¹⁰⁵K. L. 50-52, 62, 72, 73. ¹⁰⁶J. Q.]

NO. 6.

LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN BURGOYNE.

There were two kinsmen named John Burgoyne, in the British army, at the beginning of our Revolutionary struggle; one was colonel of the 16th, and the other was lieutenant-colonel of the 14th [Light] Dragoons. The latter was a great-grandson of Sir John Burgoyne, the third baronet, of Sutton, Bedfordshire, through Roger, his eldest son, and eventually succeeded to the baronetcy;^a while the former, who is the subject of this sketch, was a grandson of the third baronet, through John, his second son.^b

John Burgoyne, who surrendered at Saratoga, in 1777, was born February 4, 1722-23, and was baptized the next day at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, as the [eldest] son of John Burgoyne, by his wife, Anna Maria, daughter of Charles Burnestone, of Hackney, in Middlesex.^c His father, according to Miss Warburton, a niece of Lady Charlotte Burgoyne,

a. This officer was born September 20, 1739, and began his military career May 26, 1759, as a lieutenant in the 7th Foot, or Royal Fusiliers. He was promoted to be a captain in the 85th Foot, March 4, 1761; the major of the 52d Foot, February 13, 1762; the lieutenant-colonel of the 58th Foot, December 19, 1764; the lieutenant-colonel of the 14th Dragoons, July 15, 1773; a major-general in the East Indies only, May 9, 1777; a colonel in the army August 29,

1777; the colonel of the 23d [Light] Dragoons, then stationed in the East Indies, September 24, 1781; and a major-general in the army, November 20, 1782. He married Charlotte, the eldest daughter of General Johnston, of Overstone, near Northampton, July 13, 1772; and he succeeded his father as seventh baronet in 1781. He died in the East Indies, in 1785, leaving issue. [B. H. : B. R. : V. 158 : IX. 316, 317.]

the general's wife, was at one time a captain in the army, and "was one of those many fine gentlemen about town who contrive to run through their means, and finish their days in the King's Bench. His mother was a co-heiress, and brought a good fortune, which, however, her husband dissipated ;" and "she was exceedingly beautiful."³

The gossip of Burgoyne's own day assigned his paternity to Lord Bingley,⁴ and the majority of writers since have adopted that version. The Baronetages, however, and Fonblanque, Burgoyne's latest biographer, do not question his legitimacy ; and the latter scouts the idea "that a piece of idle gossip originally traceable to a no higher source than the loose tongue of a jealous woman, should have given rise to the belief that General Burgoyne was of illegitimate birth."⁵

As, therefore, different views exist in regard to the paternity of so prominent a figure in American history as General Burgoyne, the subject is surely important enough for some consideration.

There being no question about General Burgoyne's having been born in wedlock, it is certain that, *in the eye of the law*, he was the son of the husband of his mother.

Let us now consider the other aspect of the case. Miss Warburton, before referred to, says—"It happened that when your father" (General Burgoyne) "was christened, Lord Bingley was one of the sponsors ; upon which Lady Bingley

³ Horace Walpole, in writing to the Rev. William Mason, under date of October 5, 1777, says : "You ask the history of Burgoyne the Pompous. He is a natural son of Lord Bingley, who put him into the entail of the estate, but when young Lane came of age, the entail was cut off," etc. [M. P. 494.]

raised a story to poor Mrs. Burgoyne's disadvantage, which, at a late period, in some minds, gained a footing, in consequence of Lord Bingley bequeathing your father a handsome legacy as his godson." 3

It is only reasonable to infer that, if Lady Bingley started such a story, she probably had some ground for suspicion; and it is but natural that she should have taken some, even if not a very tender, interest in the supposed illegitimate offspring of a man who should have been true to her. It must likewise be acknowledged that certain bequests in that nobleman's will give some color to the scandal.

Robert Benson, who had been M. P. for the city of York, and commissioner, chancellor, and under treasurer of the exchequer, was created Baron Bingley, July 21, 1713, and was subsequently ambassador to the court of Spain. He died April 9, 1731, leaving a wife, and one legitimate daughter, named Harriet. The title then became extinct for lack of male issue. His will dated June 27, 1729, with a codicil dated March 9, 1729-30, was proved April 13, 1731. After bequeathing his house in Queen street, Westminster, to his wife, he left £7,000 to trustees for the use of his illegitimate daughter, Mary Johnson, then at the boarding school of Elizabeth Lewis, at Stoke Newington, Middlesex, who was to take the name of Benson after his death, and whom he particularly recommended to the protection of his dear daughter Harriet. His next bequest was to Anna Maria, wife of John Burgoyne, of Park Prospect, Westminster, Esq., to whom he gave £400 per annum, his house in Park Prospect, and his house called "The Nunnery" at Cheshunt, Herts, with all its plate, jewels,

and other contents, for her separate use for life, forgiving her husband what he owed him. The residue of his estate, except small annuities to two or three widows, was to be invested in lands in Yorkshire, to the use of his daughter Harriet, and the heirs of her body; with remainder to said Mary Johnson, and her heirs male, then to his godson John Burgoyne, son of said John and Anna Maria, who, if the estate came to him, was to take the name of 'Robert Benson'; then to his godson Robert, son of his cousin Samuel Benson, then to other godsons in succession, and finally to his right heirs.⁴ His legitimate daughter married, and had a son that took the residuary interest in his grandfather's estate, thus cutting off the entails.^{5,1}

The devises to Mrs. Burgoyne and her son, in Lord Bingley's will, were certainly very remarkable; and, with their surroundings, were hardly of a character to allay suspicion already aroused. So ample a provision for Mrs. Burgoyne, following immediately after a generous provision for a daughter, his lordship frankly admitted to be illegitimate, and his including Mrs. Burgoyne's son in the entail of the residuum of his estate immediately after his avowed illegitimate daughter, who in turn directly followed his legitimate daughter, and his placing young Burgoyne in the entail before other godsons who were Lord Bingley's acknowledged kinsmen, and one of whom was named after him, all raise a suspicion that there must have been some strong, though hidden reason for such an unusual disposition of property. If it is assumed that John Burgoyne's being Lord Bingley's godson was the sole reason for his lordship's partiality to him, then the questions naturally arise, why did he prefer him to other godsons that were acknowledged kinsmen, and why did such partiality extend to the boy's beautiful mother? The morals of the age

were extremely lax, and it was no uncommon thing for men to provide for the objects of their illicit affection and the offspring of such; and Burgoyne did the same thing himself. The beautiful young wife of a dissipated army captain in debt to a libertine of high rank, might easily enough have become the prey of such a creditor of such a husband; and as Mrs. Burgoyne was a *wife*, the purpose and object of the provision, if irregular, could not be openly avowed. The gossip of the day, however, interpreted its meaning. Though, in the eye of the law, young Burgoyne was the son of his mother's husband, yet Lord Bingley's will, coupled with the scandal circulated in his lordship's lifetime, at least raises a suspicion in the mind that the question of Burgoyne's paternity may belong to that numerous class of cases where the mere presumption of law does not always correspond with the grim matter of fact.

Burgoyne was educated at Westminster, and having entered the army at an early age, succeeded to a troop in the 13th Dragoons in 1744. While at school he formed an intimacy with Lord Strange, the eldest son of the eleventh Earl of Derby, and in this way became acquainted with Lady Charlotte Stanley, a sister of Lord Strange; and about the year 1743, when his regiment was quartered at Preston, he eloped with her. Though the earl's family at first resented the marriage, they soon became reconciled, and the match proved a happy one. The Earl of Derby allowed his daughter £300 a year during her life, and at his death left her a legacy of £25,000.⁶ As Burgoyne had no fortune, and his pay was inadequate for the support of a wife even with her father's allowance, he retired from the army in 1747, and took up his abode on the continent for the space of seven years. His reinstatement in the army, which, Fonblanque says, was "a

rare, if not an unprecedented step," was doubtless "due to the interest of the Derby family, who in common with two or three other great Whig houses, exercised an all powerful influence in the state under the first two Georges."

Burgoyne was commissioned as captain in the 11th Dragoons, June 14, 1756; served under the Duke of Marlborough in the attack upon Cherbourg in 1758; and, later in the same year, was present at the unfortunate attack on St. Malo. On his return to England he was appointed captain-lieutenant in the Coldstream, or 2d Foot Guards, which gave him the army rank of lieutenant-colonel, his commission bearing date May 10, 1758. In the next year, when George the Second determined to raise two regiments of light horse, Burgoyne was selected for the formation, and promoted to the command of the 16th Dragoons, as lieutenant-colonel commandant, under date of Aug. 4, 1759.⁷ The king gave him repeated proofs of his approbation, and George the Third, after his accession, used to take particular pleasure in reviewing "Burgoyne's Light Horse," as the corps was commonly called. He was present at both attacks on Belle Isle in 1761, and returned home in the latter part of that year.³

He was elected to represent the borough of Midhurst in the Twelfth Parliament, the first session of which began Nov. 25, 1762; and he represented that borough until the dissolution of that parliament, March 12, 1768, when he was elected for Preston, which constituency he uninterruptedly represented until his death.⁸

Early in 1762 England declared war against Spain, and soon after that event Burgoyne's regiment received orders to hold

itself in readiness for foreign service. Burgoyne embarked for the Tagus, with his light horse, early in May, with the local rank of brigadier-general, and, on his arrival in Portugal, he was placed in command of a brigade of 3,000 men, nearly two-thirds of whom were Portuguese, requiring much discipline to bring them up to anything like a soldierly standard. August 27th of that year, he gained great credit for himself by making a brilliant dash into Valentia d'Alcantara with his light horse, after a forced night march, and capturing the town, together with a Spanish major-general, several officers of less rank, a number of prisoners, three stands of colors, and a large quantity of arms. This exploit gave him great eclat at home and abroad, and the Portuguese king showed his appreciation of it by presenting him with a diamond ring. The war ended early in 1763, and, toward the end of that year, Burgoyne embarked with his regiment for England, whither his reputation as a dashy soldier had preceded him.³

He became a colonel in the army Oct. 8, 1762, and the colonel of the 16th Dragoons March 18, 1763, his regiment soon after being designated as "the Queen's" Light Dragoons.⁷

During the long period of tranquility that intervened between the peace of Paris and the beginning of the American Revolution, there was no opportunity for winning laurels, so Burgoyne applied himself to parliamentary duties and professional studies, using his pen in the direction of the latter. Fonblanque draws this flattering picture of him at this time:—"In 1768 the king conferred another mark of favour on Burgoyne, by appointing him to the government of Fort William, North Britain, an honourable and lucrative post then rarely held by an officer under

the rank of general, and which, together with the emoluments of his other military appointments and the fortune to which his wife had about this time succeeded, afforded him the means of indulging his refined tastes and his love of society, not only of the fashionable and the gay by whom he was fêted, but of all who were eminent in literature and art, and among whom he was equally welcomed.

“With a handsome person, a manner the charm of which neither man nor woman could, it was said, easily resist, a genial kindly nature which drew all hearts towards him, a ready wit, a cultivated mind, and the prestige derived from his reputation as a soldier, a speaker, and a poet—many a man more highly favoured by fortune, might have envied Burgoyne his position.

“He was a favourite at court. The Derby family, who had at one time resented his alliance with a member of their house, had learnt to love him, and vied in showing him kindness and in advancing his interests; high military authorities consulted him; eminent politicians courted his support, and literary men were pleased to call him one of themselves.

“Burgoyne’s youth had not been free from cares and anxiety; his later years were darkened by a great sorrow; but at this period he basked in the full sunshine of life. Happy in his home, universally popular in society, successful in his profession, rising into prominence in Parliament, all surrounding circumstances justified him in indulging in the hope of eminence in public life and of gratified ambition in time to come.”

Burgoyne took an active part in parliament at this period, especially in matters pertaining to India.⁹ He had incurred the

displeasure of Junius, and hence obtained a place in that famous writer's letters.¹⁰ He became a major-general in the army May 25, 1772,⁷ and he was now awaiting an opportunity to distinguish himself further in his chosen profession, of which he was enthusiastically fond.

When it was determined to send reinforcements to America, in the spring of 1775, before actual hostilities had commenced, Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe were the three generals selected for service there. They accordingly embarked in the *Cerberus* frigate, of 28 guns, April 20, 1775, and arrived at Boston on the 25th of the following May." Burgoyne, from the heights in Boston, witnessed the disastrous affair of the British at Bunker Hill, but bore no active part in it. Much has been written of the faultiness of the British plan of attack in that action. It would seem from Gen. Burgoyne's letter to his wife's nephew, Lord Stanley, dated Boston, June 25, 1775, that the plan was approved, if not advised, by Burgoyne, in consultation with the other British generals then in Boston. That letter can be found in the American Archives, 4th series, vol. 2, 1094. After spending the summer and most of the autumn in America, Burgoyne returned to England in November, for the winter.

Jan. 1st, 1776, he was appointed a lieutenant-general in America only,⁷ and, on the 31st of March following, he, with Gen. Phillips and a number of other officers, embarked on the *Blonde* frigate, for Quebec, whither he sailed four days later, accompanied by a fleet of transports having large reinforcements on board for Gen. Carleton.¹¹ Burgoyne took part in the operations of that year for expelling the Americans from Canada, and

"Was there any destruction, waste, removal or concealment of the arms, tents, colours, treasure or other military stores, belonging to Gen. Burgoyne's army, from the time the first proposal was made, on the 13th of October, to the time of the surrender?" "

Gen. Gates, in his letter to the President of Congress, dated Dec. 3d, in reply to the above resolutions, among other things, wrote :—

"Respecting the standards, General Burgoyne declared upon his honor, that the colors of the regiments were left in Canada." "

Max Von Eelking, in his *Memoirs, Journal and Letters of Riedesel*, vol. 1, p. 187, relates how the German general collected his troops together on the 17th of October, 1777, when the convention was completed, and informed them of their fate. Then the biographer, on page 188, proceeds as follows :—
"General Riedesel's next care was to save the colors. He, therefore, had them taken down from the flag staffs, and gave them to his wife, who had them sewed up by a faithful soldier who was a tailor. Henceforth he slept upon them and fortunately saved them." On page 28, of vol. 2, of the same work, the writer says,—
"Captain O'Connell" [of Gen. Riedesel's staff] "asked permission of Riedesel to return to Europe and arrange some pressing family affairs. * * * In the middle of June," 1778, "he received permission from congress to return to Europe on parole. Riedesel took this opportunity to send by him his dispatches to his court, also the flags which he had saved. These flags the captain left in Rhode Island. They were afterwards carried to Canada by Lieutenant-Colonel

to take upon him the command of the Northern army, he had the most sanguine expectation of being the chief instrument of subduing the rebels ; insomuch that, in a conversation with some gentlemen at Arthur's, he said he hoped to bring America to a proper sense of duty before he returned. Mr. Fox being present, made the following prophetic observation : ' Burgoyne, be not over sanguine in your expectations ; I believe when next you return to England you will be a prisoner on your parole.' "

It is not proposed to give the details of Burgoyne's campaign here. Hadden has done that, and, in the Editor's Explanatory Chapter, some considerations of the causes of Burgoyne's failure have been presented. Neither are we going at length into the much mooted point whether Burgoyne so far violated the provisions of the convention at Saratoga as to justify congress in detaining him and his army prisoners of war ; but it is difficult to see how the British general could reconcile some of his conduct with a high sense of honor, or a sound, healthy conscience. Soon after the conclusion of the convention much inquiry arose as to what had become of Burgoyne's ordnance and public property ; and, on the 19th of November, Congress ordered that Gen. Gates' return of ordnance, etc., taken from the enemy, be referred to a committee ; which committee, three days subsequently, reported,—“ That there is no mention, in the said return, of standards, military chest, medicine or tents.” * * Whereupon Congress “ Resolved, That the president immediately send an express to Gen. Gates, and desire answers to the following questions, viz.

“ What is become of the standards belonging to the respective regiments in Gen. Burgoyne's army ? * * *

vention troops did not go to Virginia until late in the autumn of that year. The exact date, however, is not important, as both agree as to the main facts of the concealment and clandestine removal of the German flags. General Burgoyne's statement to the contrary, notwithstanding, it is clear that the German colors were not left in Canada.

How was it with the English flags? Gen. Burgoyne himself says, on page xvi of the Appendix to the State of the Expedition, in reference to the retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga and the British advance under Gen. Fraser,—“This movement was very discernible, as were the British colours, which the Brigadier had fixed upon the fort of Ticonderoga.” Had the British flags been left in Canada as stated by Burgoyne after his surrender, how could they have been at Ticonderoga? If it be said, however, that these need not necessarily have been the regimental flags, and hence Burgoyne's statement is not conclusive proof of their presence, let us examine a little further. In the “Historical Record of The Ninth, or The East-Norfolk Regiment of Foot, containing an Account of the formation of the regiment in 1685, and of its subsequent services, compiled by Richard Cannon, Esq., Adjutant General's Office, Horse Guards, London, 1848,” published under General Orders from the British Army Headquarters, dated Jan. 1st, 1836, and “By Command of his late Majesty, William the IVth, and under the patronage of her Majesty, the Queen,” these sentences in regard to the Saratoga affair, occur:—“Lieut.-Colonel Hill of the Ninth, being anxious to preserve the colours of the regiment, took them off the staves, and concealed them in his baggage, which he was per-

mitted to retain. The American government violated the conditions of the convention, and detained the troops until 1781, when the Ninth proceeded to England, and Lieut.-Colonel Hill producing the colours presented them to King George III, who rewarded his faithful services with the appointment of aide de camp to His Majesty, and the rank of colonel in the army." It matters not whether Wilkinson was correct, in writing of the convention thirty-five years afterwards, and after he had quarrelled with, and twice challenged, and once fought a duel with Gen. Gates, where he says,—“Burgoyne made his own convention, and saved his accoutrements, military chest and colors, all of which were retained, notwithstanding Gen. Gates’s letter to Congress, * * which was unworthy of a soldier.”¹⁹ The truth, even, of Wilkinson’s statement, does not help Burgoyne’s veracity. But Wilkinson’s assertion that the colors were not included in the convention, is incompatible with Madame Riedesel’s statement that “we had made the Americans at Saratoga believe that they were burnt up—a circumstance which they at first took in bad part;” and is also in striking contrast with the British and German officers’ belief on that subject as indicated by their studious concealment of the flags, and by Burgoyne’s denial that they were with the army at all. Had Burgoyne’s officers believed that their colors

c. For correspondence between Colonel, afterwards General Kosciusko. Gen. Gates’ second, and John Carter, Gen. Wilkinson’s second, in the duel fought by Gates and Wilkinson on Friday afternoon, Sept. 4, 1778, copied from the *New York Packet*, see the *Boston Evening Post and General Advertiser* for Oct. 17, 1778. The duel above referred to, is an entirely different affair from the one

Wilkinson tells us about in his *Memoirs*, vol. 1, page 388, where he challenged Gates Feb. 23, 1778; as then, the duel did not take place. Surely the word of a man who has twice challenged, and once fought another, can possess but little weight in regard to that other person; and Wilkinson’s word, as shown by his *Memoirs*, is, at best, entitled to none too much weight.

were not embraced in the terms of the convention, they would have flung them to the breeze and proudly marched out under them, as an indication of how much of their honor they had preserved, especially when they supposed that they were about to embark for England; for soldiers lay down their lives for their flags, the loss, surrender, or concealment of which, save in rare instances, is synonymous with defeat and humiliation. Wilkinson's statement in this respect, as likewise in many others, it seems to us, is utterly unreliable.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that British writers assert that the Americans shamefully, and without cause, broke the Saratoga convention. It is to be regretted, however, that some American writers have joined in such attacks on the national honor without having first duly weighed all the considerations bearing on the question, among which is this standard business. Had proof of Gen. Riedesel's dealing with the German colors, and the authorized statement of Lieut.-Col. Hill's concealment of the colors of the 9th Regiment, been made in 1777, much clamor would have been saved, and many letters like the following, sent from New York, then in possession of the British, dated Jan. 29, 1778, and printed in the *London Chronicle* of March 14-17, 1778, would never have been written. "Among other detestable pretexts," says the letter, "fabricated by the rebels to justify the detention of Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne and the troops under his command, the equivocal, revolted Yankees pretend a discovery of several stands of colours, belonging to British regiments, secreted by him, which they think a violation of the treaty concluded between him and Gen. Gates. By such assertions, which have no foundation in truth, they mask their perfidy."

Burgoyne was certainly very zealous for the comfort of his men after the surrender, and his prosecution of the American Colonel Henley, before a court martial, for alleged cruelty and oppression, shows his earnestness in that behalf.

Early in 1778, Burgoyne obtained permission to return to England on his parole, basing his application on the plea of ill health^d and a desire to vindicate himself from blame on account of his surrender. He embarked at Newport, Rhode Island, on the *Grampus* sloop of war,^e and landed at Portsmouth, England, May 13, 1778. How different the return, from the setting out! No ardent volunteers thirsting for fame, accompanied him now.^{fo} No rumors of real or imaginary red ribbons being conferred upon him, now filled the air. No newspapers now chronicled any royal favors being bestowed upon him—not even a solitary morning airing with his majesty,—but on the contrary, they announced that the king refused even to give him an audience.

d. Gen. Glover, the American officer in charge of Burgoyne and his troops on the march from Saratoga, to Cambridge after the surrender, wrote to Gen. Gates from Marblehead, Nov. 16, 1776, as follows:—"After a troublesome journey of 13 days (some part of which time was very stormy—this with the badness of the roads was almost too much for Gen'l Burgoyne's shatter'd constitution) we arrived safe in Cambridge. [D. R.]

board the *Grampus*, in company with a fleet for England."¹ The *London Chronicle* for May 12-14, 1778, vol. 43, page 464, in a news-letter from Portsmouth, dated May 13, says:—"This morning arrived the *Grampus* sloop of war from Rhode Island, from which ship Gen. Burgoyne landed about twelve o'clock." See also *The Remembrancer* for 1778, vol. 6, 207.

e. Fonblanque, page 333, says:—"Burgoyne embarked at Rhode Island in the *Juno* frigate, Captain Hew Dalrymple, in the middle of April," etc. On the other hand, however, 'A Diary of the Revolution kept at Newport,' in 1778, says—"April 7. Arrived a flag from Providence with Gen. Burgoyne and two provincial officers who are in town. . . .

"April 14. Sailed Gen. Burgoyne on

The ship that first bore Burgoyne to America in 1775, and the ship that last took him away from there, in 1778, both came to disastrous ends during the American Revolution. The *Cerberus* was burnt by the British to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; and the *Grampus*, a worn out 70 gun ship which had been cut down to 26 guns, and subsequently turned into a storeship, foundered at Newfoundland.² [F. W. 38. ²H. M. 251.]

When he clamored for investigation, all sorts of subterfuges were resorted to for denying him justice ; and it was even attempted to stifle his voice in the House of Commons, on the plea that, as a paroled prisoner, he could not occupy his seat in parliament. Fox's prophetic saying had, indeed, been verified ; and the prisoner on parole now found how hollow were official professions of friendship. If the government, however, turned the cold shoulder to him, the opposition now took him up, and his sturdy advocacy of his own cause at last obtained for him a hearing, and a practical vindication. In 1780 was published " A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by evidence ; with a collection of authentic documents, and an addition of many circumstances which were prevented from appearing before the House by the prorogation of Parliament. Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the officers of the army he commanded."

Though Burgoyne, on his return to England, ceased to hold high military command, he at once assumed prominent political importance. He boldly and pertinaciously demanded an investigation and a court martial. He did not hesitate to assail the ministry and to charge his defeat as a sacrifice to their incompetency. He ever assumed the part of injured innocence ; and the opposition, many of the people, and, indeed, some of the parliamentary friends of the ministry, regarded him as a victim of unjust persecution. Many of our American writers, with an inflation of language that may be denominated spread eagle grandiloquence, have incorrectly assumed that our national independence was solely due to the bravery and devotion of our revolutionary ancestors. Without detracting at all from their self sacrificing

patriotism, such a view would seem to be very far from the truth, for we owe our nationality quite as much to the wretched incompetency of Britain's ministers, as to the unflinching valor of our revolutionary patriots. It was one of this class of ministers that thought it necessary to hound Burgoyne into well nigh military martyrdom, to conceal his own miserable short-comings. Lord George Sackville, whose name was afterwards changed to Germaine, the British Secretary of State for War during the earlier years of our struggle for independence, has almost as strong claims upon our gratitude (though not upon our hearts), for what he stupidly failed to do, as have some of our staunchest patriots for what they actually accomplished. He commanded the British horse at the famous battle of Minden, in 1759, where he acted the craven and disobeyed Prince Ferdinand's order to charge the enemy at a critical moment, for which George II summarily dismissed him from all his offices. The sentence of the court martial, to which he appealed, was, that he be cashiered; though the influence of the house of Dorset, to which he belonged, mitigated the sentence, so that he was "declared incapacitated from military employment," and *not*, as usually expressed, from any employment under the crown, civil or military. By this saving clause a man ignominiously incapable of drawing his sword in his country's behalf, could, to the disgrace of a great nation, serve as her war minister. No greater solecism could have been committed; and one can easily understand how any blunder could have been perpetrated by such a minister, even to neglecting to send dispatches, the most important, like those to Howe, commanding him to co-operate with Burgoyne.³ At last, after a protracted correspondence with the government, Burgoyne,

to use his own words, felt himself "compelled to lay at his Majesty's feet the appointment to the American staff, the Queen's Regiment of Light Dragoons, and the government of Fort William, the services of more than thirty years, and the reward with which I acknowledged them to have been overpaid by his Majesty and his Royal grandfather. The only commission I still humbly request his Majesty's permission to reserve is that of Lieutenant-General in the army for the purpose of being amenable to a court martial, and of properly fulfilling my parole to Congress." " His resignation was accepted Oct. 15, 1779, and in a speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 17, 1781, Burgoyne said, "it was rather singular, that of all officers of the convention army he was, at present, the only one who remained unexchanged; not even a surgeon's mate of that army was now a prisoner; to be still one, was reserved only for the general of that army. The prisoners at the Cedars had surrendered under a capitulation, which the Congress had constantly refused to sign, though he would not say that this refusal was founded in justice. To offer these men, therefore, in exchange for him, was offering nothing, because Congress would not listen to any proposal about them. The order from Congress for him to return to America, had been long known to him; but if he had not spoken of it before, it was because he would have preferred death in a dungeon in America, to any favour that he should be obliged to solicit from Ministry; for when they would not do him justice, he could not have expected favours." Lord George Germaine replied "that when he had said that the Hon. General had been released, he thought he had been speaking on very good grounds, for in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton he had been informed that a proper number

of men had been offered for the General's release ; and among others, the Cedars prisoners ; and that he made no doubt but Congress would accede to his proposal ; and therefore he took it for granted that by this time the General was released. As to the Cedars prisoners, he really did not remember to have heard of them before as offered to exchange for the Hon. Lieutenant General." " Whether Lord George Germaine was entirely frank in his remarks, and especially as to the prisoners taken at the Cedars, is not free from doubt. Holding such views as Burgoyne did in regard to his exchange, it must have been as welcome to him, coming as it did at last, as it was probably unwelcome to the government.

Though the exact date of Burgoyne's exchange has not been ascertained, yet at the time of making the speech just alluded to, it had unquestionably taken place as Lord George Germaine supposed. As two movements for the exchange of Burgoyne were on foot at the same time and have been confused together, mention of both becomes necessary.

Henry Laurens of South Carolina, formerly president of Congress, was captured in October, 1780, when on his way to Europe as minister to the Netherlands. " Among his papers," when captured, says Bancroft, " was found the unauthorized project for a treaty, concerted as we have seen between Neufville and William Lee. To Lord Stormont the ' transaction appeared to be the act of individuals,' and the Earl of Hillsborough owned ' that the states-general had no knowledge of the treaty, which had never been signed except by private persons.' But the resolution was instantly taken to use the Laurens papers so as to ' give the properest direction to the

war.' After an examination at the admiralty before the three secretaries of state, Laurens was escorted through the streets of London by a large guard, and confined as a state's prisoner in the tower, where he was debarred from all intercourse, and from the use of pen and paper, so as to produce upon the public mind a strange and startling sensation." "

April 5th, 1781, the president of Congress wrote to Gen. Washington as follows :—" I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the enclosed resolve of the 3d instant, directing the recall of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and all other officers, prisoners of war, now absent on their paroles from America, to return immediately.

" It is proper to inform your Excellency, that this resolution is adopted in consequence of information, that the late President Laurens is confined in the Tower of London, as a state criminal, under pretext of his being guilty of treasonable practices. Should this resolution embarrass or impede any measures your Excellency may have adopted relative or preparatory to a general exchange of prisoners, it is taken for granted that you will please to represent the same to Congress, previously to any proceedings for carrying the resolve into execution." Washington sent this reply to the president of Congress.

" NEW WINDSOR, 16 April, 1781.

" SIR. Previous to the receipt of your letter, I had directed the commissary of prisoners to renew a proposal, which was sometime since made to the enemy, for exchanging General Burgoyne, and a balance of private prisoners due to us, for the residue of our officers on Long Island, and as many of

the southern officers as would make up the difference. My motives for this proposal were these. General Burgoyne is said to be in ill health ; his death would deprive us in exchanges of the value of one thousand and forty private men, or officers equivalent, according to the tariff which has been settled. I thought it advisable not to risk so considerable a loss, when his exchange would give relief to a number of our officers in captivity, and disembarass the public of the inconvenience of maintaining them there.

“ The moment I received your letter I wrote to Mr. Skinner,” (the commissary general of prisoners) “ countermanding his instructions. I believe the countermand will arrive before he has done anything in the matter ; but if it does not, I am persuaded the enemy will again reject the proposal. As soon as I hear from him, if things are situated as I expect, I will execute immediately the order for the recall of General Burgoyne. To the best of my recollection, all the officers in Europe on parole have been exchanged. I have the honor to be, &c.”²⁴

Notice of the above requisition of Congress was accordingly sent to Sir Henry Clinton with the request that the necessary steps might be taken for a speedy compliance with it ; but Washington's letter wrought a change in the views of Congress, hence, on April 23d, it rescinded its former vote ; and General Clinton was then requested to countermand the order if it had already been transmitted to England.²⁵

Congress, and especially Laurens' brother Carolinians, were desirous of effecting the release of their late president, and on June 14, 1781, that body voted, by 26 to 6, on motion of Mr. Matthews of South Carolina, seconded by Mr. Sharpe of North

Carolina, "That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States at the court of Versailles, be authorized and empowered to offer lieutenant-general Burgoyne in exchange for the hon. Henry Laurens." ²⁵

In August, 1781, Edmund Burke wrote from London to Dr. Franklin in France, as follows: "I have lately been informed with great certainty, and with no less surprise, that the congress have made an application for the return of my friend General Burgoyne to captivity in America, at a time when the exchange of almost all the rest of the convention officers has been completed. It is true that this requisition has been for the present withdrawn: but then it may be renewed at every instant; and no arrangement has been made or proposed, which may prevent a thing, on all accounts so very disagreeable, as to see the most opposite interests conspiring in the persecution of a man, formed, by the unparalleled candour and moderation of his mind, to unite the most discordant parties in his favour.

"I own this proceeding of the congress fills me with astonishment. I am persuaded that some unusually artful management, or very unexampled delusion, has operated to produce an effect which cannot be accounted for on any of the ordinary principles of nature or of policy.

"I shall not enter into the particulars of the convention under which this claim is made, nor into the construction of it, nor the execution. I am not, perhaps, capable of doing justice to the merits of the cause; and if I were, I am not disposed to put them upon any ground of argument, because (whatever others might and possibly ought to do) I am not pleading a

point of strict right, but appealing to your known principles of honour and generosity, with the freedom and privileges of an old friendship; and as I suppose you perfectly acquainted with the whole history of the extraordinary treatment General Burgoyne has met with, I am resolved not to show so much distrust in so sound a memory and so good a judgment as yours, as to attempt to refresh the one or to lead the other.

“I am ready to admit that General Burgoyne has been, and (as far as what is left him will suffer) is a very affectionate and a very jealous servant of the crown; and that in America he acted as an officer of the king (so long as fortune favoured him) with great abilities, and distinguished fidelity, activity, and spirit. You, my dear sir, who have made such astonishing exertions in the cause which you espouse, and are so deeply read in human nature and in human morals, know better than anybody, that men will and that sometimes they are bound to take, very different views and measures of their duty from local and from professional situation; and that we may all have equal merit in extremely different lines of conduct. You know that others may deserve the whole of your admiration in a cause, in which your judgment leads you to oppose them. But whatever may be your opinions on the origin of this fatal war, I assure you, General Burgoyne has the merit of never having driven it on with violence, or fostered or kept it alive by any evil arts, or aggravated its natural mischiefs by unnecessary rigour; but has behaved on all occasions with that temper which becomes a great military character, which loves nothing so well in the profession, as the means it so frequently furnishes of splendid acts of generosity and humanity.

"You have heard of the sacrifices he has made to his nice sense of honour, on this side of the water; — sacrifices far beyond the just demands of the principle to which they were made. This has been no advantage to the country where he was piqued to it. Shall America, too, call for sacrifices that are still more severe, and of full as little advantage to those who demand them?"⁴⁶

Franklin sent Burke this reply.

"PASSY, 15 October, 1781.

"SIR, I received but a few days ago your very friendly letter of August last, on the subject of General Burgoyne.

"Since the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time, with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to settle their differences, it certainly becomes the wiser part, who cannot prevent these wars, to alleviate as much as possible the calamities attending them. Mr. Burke always stood high in my esteem; but his affectionate concern for his friend renders him still more aimiable, and makes the honor he does me of admitting me of the number, still more precious.

"I do not think the Congress have any wish to persecute General Burgoyne. I never heard, till I received your letter, that they had recalled him; if they have made such a resolution, it must be, I suppose, a conditional one, to take place in case their offer of exchanging him for Mr. Laurens should not be accepted; a resolution intended merely to enforce that offer.

"I have just received an authentic copy of the resolve containing that offer; and authorizing me to make it. As I have no communication with your ministers, I send it enclosed to

you. If you can find any means of negotiating this business, I am sure the restoring another worthy man to his family and friends will be an addition to your pleasure. With great and invariable respect and affection, I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

B. FRANKLIN." 77

The ignorance of Congress of the feelings the British ministry entertained towards Burgoyne as exhibited by offering him in exchange for Laurens, is clearly shown by the following extracts from two of Edmund Burke's letters to Mons. Bourdieu, written in Dec., 1781. "I confess," wrote Burke, "I was extremely surprised at the proposal of that specific exchange by congress, as a means of obtaining the release of Mr. Laurens. Had I attempted to act on that plan, before the late event in America," (the surrender of Lord Cornwallis), "I should infallibly have double-locked the gates of the Tower on that gentleman. The ministers have long wished with as much earnestness to send General Burgoyne into captivity, as the congress could desire to free their late worthy president from his present restraint; and they would have the more obstinately persevered in their strictness with regard to him, in order to double their triumph, by making congress itself their instrument in imprisoning the man they meant to free, and confining the man these ministers meant to confine. I suppose Mr. Laurens knows that the ministers had ordered General Burgoyne into captivity previously to any requisition whatsoever; and that General Burgoyne, from a sense of that unparalleled indignity, had thrown up all his valuable military employments." 78 Again Burke wrote a fortnight later:—"On the whole of this transaction as it stands, I am obliged to

suppose that a negative is put upon the exchange, and that I am charged and defied to produce any instance of ill-treatment which Mr. Laurens has received. Notwithstanding the change in the circumstances of public affairs, ministers seem to me to adhere, with as much obstinacy as ever, to their betraying and ruining those who have had the indiscretion or the misfortune of acting under them, and who are not willing to sacrifice their honour, by bearing with a degenerate patience the blame of their mismanagements. Their unwillingness to consent to this exchange, I must fairly say, does not arise from any particular animosity to Mr. Laurens, whom, (since they despair of answering any purpose in their politics, by making him an object of judicial proceeding,) they do not wish, I believe, any longer to persecute. There are two causes for it, as I apprehended,—the first, their implacable enmity to General Burgoyne, for his having discountenanced the delusions by which they proposed to carry on the American war, the principal of which consisted in the representation of the numbers and zeal of those who adhered to the royal cause, in opposition to the republican governments which have been newly set up, and the smallness of the numbers and pusillanimity of character of those who supported those governments. General Burgoyne, in the inquiry to which he forced them to submit in the House of Commons, has done more than anybody towards detecting these impostures, among all those who have not been paid for still pretending a belief in them. The next, is in the desire of keeping open this exchange in favour of some general officer, who may choose to merit their countenance and protection by a prudent silence upon those delicate topics. This is the true spirit of the transaction so far as it relates to General Burgoyne.”⁹⁹

In acknowledging Franklin's letter of Oct. 15th, in the latter part of December, 1781, Burke used this language ;—" I am to tell you then, that I was honoured with yours of the 15th of October ; but it did not come to my hands till more than a month after it was written. I only waited to communicate the contents to the gentlemen concerned, and then opened my treaty with the ministers. I was not so fortunate as, in reason, I ought to have expected. All men are not of the description, or of the sentiments, which you have mentioned in your letter. The animosity against General Burgoyne continues. Mr. Laurens is still in the Tower. I hope the former will find a better resource in the magnanimity of a generous enemy, than in the justice of those under whose direction he was brought into a situation which makes such a resource necessary. * * * The reason alleged for refusing that exchange voted by Congress was, that they had apprehended General Burgoyne was already exchanged for a thousand soldiers. It was to no purpose that I pleaded the utter impossibility of that fact. Congress had made a vote in favour of Mr. Laurens, and they would never act in a manner repugnant to their own honour, as well as so cruelly and treacherously by their late president, as to falsify their own vote for his release. At that time they had no officer of rank in their hands. It was, in confirmation of this idea, represented that no such exchange for soldiers had taken place, months after the vote, when Sir Henry Clinton was off the Chesapeake. As to the exchange for soldiers, the Cedres were always included in the men. It was represented to them, that—had always made the offer when General Burgoyne was concerned ; because they knew these prisoners had always been refused in account, and were sensible that they

had taken effectual means that no such exchange should ever be made." »

Notwithstanding Lord George Germaine's reply to Burgoyne in parliament, Burke undoubtedly struck the true reason for the British ministry's willingness to exchange Burgoyne for his equivalent in privates, provided the American prisoners taken at the Cedars were included in the number ; for, as Congress had refused since 1776 to receive those prisoners in exchange, the ministry, not desiring at heart to effect Burgoyne's release, confidently relied upon Congress remaining steadfast to the end in the course it had adhered to for more than five years. For an account of the affair at the Cedars the reader is referred to the sketch of Major George Forster, *ante* page 99, note. Notwithstanding Burke's scouting the idea that Congress, having once offered Burgoyne for Laurens, would not consent to the former's exchange until the latter was liberated, the reason alleged by Lord George Germaine for refusing the Burgoyne-Laurens exchange, viz., the apprehension of the ministers that Burgoyne had already been exchanged, had a foundation in fact, as shown by the following letter from Gen. Washington to the president of Congress, and the congressional action thereon.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DOBBS'S FERRY, 8 August, 1781.

“SIR, I do myself the honor to inform Congress, through your Excellency, that, at a late meeting between the American and British commissaries of prisoners, it has been proposed by the latter to go into a full exchange of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and all the remaining officers of convention (by

composition where rank will not apply) for the remainder of our officers in this quarter, and after them for those taken at the southward. One of the terms insisted upon is, that the prisoners surrendered by the capitulation of the Cedars, to the amount of four hundred and forty-three, shall be allowed.

“I have not thought myself at liberty to accede to these proposals without the concurrence of Congress, for the following reasons; that I imagine our minister at the court of Versailles has been already directed to propose the exchange of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne for the Honorable Mr. Laurens; that I do not know whether it would be agreeable to Congress to release the whole of the convention officers, before they have obtained a settlement for the subsistence of those troops; and lastly because the refusal of the ratification of the convention of the Cedars has never been repealed.

“I would beg leave to remark on the two last, that the exchange of our full colonels can never be obtained but by composition, and that it is better to effect this by a composition for inferior officers than for men, because the enemy gain no reinforcement by such a mode. To relieve the full colonels in this quarter only, who, all but one, have been prisoners since 1777, would take seven hundred privates. Should the security for the convention debt still be urged, I would answer, that we may perhaps deceive ourselves in supposing that the balance upon a general settlement, for the subsistence of all prisoners since the commencement of the war, will be much in our favor. I am inclined to think we shall find it the contrary, and owing to this, namely, that the British have constantly kept their accounts with accuracy and have vouchers ready to

support them. We, on the other hand, shall be found very deficient on that score ; indeed, I fear almost totally so, except in the instance of the convention troops and prisoners of war latterly.

“ Congress will judge of the expediency of repealing their act respecting the convention of the Cedars upon the present occasion. Mr. Skinner, the commissary-general of prisoners, will have the honor of delivering this to your Excellency. I shall be obliged by an answer to the several points contained in it, at his return, that I may instruct him accordingly.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.” ”

Washington's letter was referred to a committee of Congress, and the Journals of that body for August 21st, 1781, contain the following entry. “ The report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Sherman, to whom was referred a letter of the 8th, from general Washington, was taken into consideration ; wherein the committee state, ‘ that at a meeting of the commissaries of prisoners for both parties, at Germantown, in the month of June, 1778, a demand was made by the American commissary for payment of a number of Canadian officers, taken at St. John's and Chamblee, and sent into the British lines in 1776. The British commissary at the same time demanding an allowance for 440 American prisoners taken at the Cedars, and returned on parole : that it was then agreed between the said commissaries that both these demands should rest, one against the other, till the British commissary should obtain a certificate ; ’ whereupon,

“ *Resolved*, That the commander in chief be, and he is hereby authorized, to go into a full exchange of lieutenant-

general Burgoyne, and all the remaining officers of the convention of Saratoga, with the enemy, in such manner as to him shall appear most conducive to the general interests of the United States.

“Resolved, That the prisoners taken by the enemy at the Cedars, may be considered as subjects of exchange, notwithstanding any former resolutions of Congress to the contrary; and that the commander in chief be, and hereby is instructed to charge in the intended exchange, the several officers taken in Canada, and whose ranks were disputed by the enemy and engaged by their commissary to be settled and adjusted in manner aforesaid, according to the ranks mentioned in their paroles, unless the enemy produce sufficient proof of a different rank.”

The following day, August 22d, Congress further

“Resolved, That in case general Burgoyne shall have been exchanged for the hon. Henry Laurens, credit shall be given for the officers which may be received for him in the general exchange, authorized by the resolution of the 21st.”²³

It was under the congressional authority of August 21, 1781, that Burgoyne was exchanged, though the exact date of the exchange is not known. From Burgoyne's speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 17, 1781, before alluded to, and the reason given to Burke, in the same month, by the British ministry, for refusing Burgoyne for Laurens, viz., the belief that Burgoyne had already been exchanged,—it is not unlikely that the enmity of the North administration to Burgoyne caused it to withhold from him formal notice of his exchange. Lord North resigned March 20, 1782, and two days later his ministry

was succeeded by the Rockingham administration, which contained a number of Burgoyne's friends, Burke among the number; and *then* certainly, even if not earlier, his exchange became known to him; and on the 16th of the next month he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, as well as a privy councillor there, which positions he held until Jan., 1784.^{31 33}

The Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke, the editors of Edmund Burke's works (Rivington's edition, 1852), are certainly in error where they say in a note on page 466 of vol. 1,—“To the exertions of Mr. Burke in this matter, may be attributed the exchange of General Burgoyne for Mr. Henry Laurens,” &c. On August 2d, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, the British military and naval commanders then in New York, wrote a letter to Gen. Washington, in which were these sentences. “With respect to Mr. Laurens, we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged and discharged from all engagements without any conditions whatever; after which he declared of his own accord, that he considered Lord Cornwallis as freed from his parole. Upon this point we are to desire your Excellency's sentiments, or those of Congress.”³⁴ This caused Washington to write to the secretary of war under date of August 18, 1782, as follows:—“I have had the pleasure of receiving your private letter of the 12th instant. I cannot but think the conduct respecting the release of Lord Cornwallis very extraordinary. Is it reasonable that Mr. Laurens should be at full liberty, and acting as a commissioner in Europe, while Lord Cornwallis, for whose liberation he pledged his own honor, and consequently as a public man that of the States, is held bound by his parole?

Either disavow the propriety of Mr. Laurens's conduct, and let him be remanded by the British ministry, or set Lord Cornwallis at equal liberty. I am placed in a very delicate situation. Sir Guy Carleton has given me official information of the transaction, and has called for a confirmation of Mr. Laurens's act. I have referred the matter to the proper place, and I can obtain no answer. In my letters to General Carleton I am obliged to be for the present silent, but I certainly must expect to hear from him again. Do, my good Sir, endeavour to obtain a decision upon this matter." The letter from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to General Washington was referred by Congress to a committee, who "proposed and reported, that the General should be directed to empower his commissioners" [for negotiating a cartel] "to release Earl Cornwallis from his parole in return for the indulgence granted to Mr. Laurens; but Mr. Rutledge, one of the committee, inveighed against this with so much warmth and indignation, that it was rejected with a loud and general *No* from all parts of the House" ³⁵

Events on the other side of the Atlantic had already occurred, of which, however, Congress seem to have been ignorant when it passed its vote in August, just alluded to. Dr. Franklin wrote from Passy, in France, June 28, 1781, to Robert R. Livingston, as follows: "In mine of the 25th instant, I omitted mentioning, that, at the repeated, earnest instances of Mr. Laurens, who had given such expectations to the ministry in England, when his parole or securities were discharged, as that he could not think himself at liberty to act in public affairs, till the parole of Lord Cornwallis was absolved by me in exchange, I sent to that general the paper, of

which the enclosed is a copy ; and I see by the English papers, that his Lordship, immediately on the receipt of it, appeared at court, and has taken his seat in the House of Peers, which he did not before think was warrantable. My authority for doing this appeared questionable to myself ; but Mr. Laurens judged it deducible from that respecting General Burgoyne, and, by his letters to me, seemed so unhappy, till it was done, that I ventured it, with a clause, however, as you will see, reserving to Congress the approbation or disallowance of it." The following is the paper alluded to in the letter.

" The discharge of Lord Cornwallis from his Parole.

" The Congress having, by a resolution of the 14th of June last, empowered me to offer an exchange of General Burgoyne for the Honorable Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London, and whose liberty they much desire to obtain, which exchange, though proposed by me, according to the said resolution, had not been accepted or executed, when advice was received, that General Burgoyne was exchanged in virtue of another agreement; and Mr. Laurens thereupon having proposed another lieutenant-general, viz., Lord Cornwallis, as an exchange for himself, promising, that, if set at liberty, he would do his utmost to obtain a confirmation of that proposal ; and Mr. Laurens being soon after discharged, and having since urged me earnestly, in several letters, to join with him in absolving the parole of that general, which appears to be a thing just and equitable in itself ; and for the honor therefore of our country, I do hereby, as far as in my power lies, in virtue of the above resolution, or otherwise, absolve and dis-

charge the parole of Lord Cornwallis, given by him in Virginia ; setting him at entire liberty to act in his civil or military capacity, until the pleasure of Congress shall be known, to whom is reserved the confirmation or disapprobation of this discharge, in case they have made, or shall intend to make, a different disposition.

“ Given at Passy, this 9th day of June, 1782.

“ B. FRANKLIN,

“ *Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States
of America to the Court of France.*”³⁶

We cannot find that Congress ever took any action upon Franklin's discharge of Cornwallis ; and non-repudiation was accepted as a confirmation, especially as the fast approaching steps towards peace divested the matter of all interest and importance.

Before leaving this matter of Burgoyne's exchange, which has been gone into thus fully from its having been so obscure and confused, it may not be amiss to allude to the subsistence of prisoners, referred to in some of the communications. Gen. Washington used this language in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton.

“ HEAD QUARTERS, 2 October, 1782.

“ SIR,

“ Your Excellency will have been informed by your commissioners, of the causes which obstructed their proceeding upon business at the late meeting at Tappan. The commissioners on the part of the United States laid before those appointed by your Excellency and Admiral Digby,

a remonstrance, on the subject of the immense expense arising from the support of so great a number of British prisoners as we now have in our possession, without any present compensation or proper security for the payment hereafter. This remonstrance your commissioners did not think themselves at liberty to accept. I am, therefore, under the necessity of furnishing your Excellency with a copy of it, and of assuring you, agreeably to my instructions, from the honorable the Congress of the United States, 'that, if this, like former representations, should produce no effect, it will be high time to take measures, however disagreeable, for diminishing a burthen which is become intolerable.'

"I have the honor to be," &c.

Carleton's reply, dated New York, Oct. 25, 1782, was, in part, as follows: "I am much at a loss how to answer the declarations of Congress communicated to me by your Excellency's letter of the 2d instant, nor do I fully comprehend their import. I understand, that the practice has been for nations at war to provide at the conclusion of a peace for the liquidation of all demands, made reciprocally for the maintenance of prisoners; at which time the whole has either been compendiously settled, or further time given to collect an account of expenses of maintenance from all parts where they have been incurred; but we, Sir, on our part can have no objection to appoint commissaries at this period for the purpose of liquidation, if Congress earnestly desire that such liquidation shall be so prematurely made, but it has not been usual I think since the barbarous ages to use any menaces, however obscure, towards prisoners, and still less to practice towards them any barbarity." 37

It seems from the foregoing, that, at the time of the Revolution, prisoners were either bound to provide for themselves, or their government for them, and that the United States were for having prompt settlements for subsistence, which is what was referred to in regard to Burgoyne.

The notoriety Burgoyne attained in the political world is well illustrated by an extract from a letter from Birmingham, dated Aug. 17, 1778, printed in the *London Chronicle* for Aug. 15-18, in that year. The letter proceeds as follows: "On Monday last," (Aug. 10, 1778) "in the afternoon, arrived here from Bath, on his way to his seat in Lancashire, attended by two servants only, Lieutenant-general Burgoyne. His arrival was no sooner known, than the bells began ringing, and a great number of people assembled before the Swan-inn where the General had stopped; after some little refreshment, he proceeded to New-Hall-street, to view Clay's Paper Manufactory there; by which time the spectators were become very numerous, both in the street, and at the windows of the houses therein, who all discovered an uncommon propensity to see this unfortunate commander, whose conduct in America, had been the subject of universal conversation in the political world. The General after viewing the manufactory, came to the door, and was received with loud acclamations, which he politely returned by bowing; then getting into his carriage, he pursued his journey to Soho, (where he spent a considerable time) amidst reiterated shouts of the populace, who seemed happy in the indulgence of their curiosity."

On the 7th of June, 1782, Burgoyne was commissioned colonel of the 4th, or Kings's Own Regiment of Foot; and

in April of the next year he was notified of his appointment as colonel of the 8th Dragoons ; but as the colonel of that regiment did not die as expected, Burgoyne's succession did not in fact occur.³ During the eight years of life remaining to him, after resigning as commander in-chief of the forces in Ireland, Burgoyne constantly attended at the House of Commons, and upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, was put upon the committee of managers.^{3,9}

In the summer of 1792, he was seized with a sudden attack of gout which soon terminated his life, as he died at his house in Hertford Street, London, Aug. 4th of that year.³⁸ In accordance with his request his remains were privately buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey beside those of his wife and daughter.⁹

Some years after his wife's death Gen. Burgoyne formed a connection with Miss Susan Caulfield, a professional singer of some repute, who lived with him during the remainder of his life ; and by her he had four children, all born out of wedlock, of whom the late Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne was the eldest. In Gen. Burgoyne's will, made in Dublin while he was commander-in-chief in Ireland, he acknowledged his children and made provision for their future by leaving the interest of £4,000 to their mother for life, the principal to be equally divided among the children at her death. The eldest son, John, was baptized in the parish church of St. Anne's, Soho, on the 15th of August, 1782, under the names of John Fox Burgoyne ; Charles James Fox, the celebrated statesman, and his father's intimate friend, acting as sponsor for him on the occasion. As at Gen. Burgoyne's death the proceeds of

his property barely sufficed to defray the debts he left behind him, his intentions in regard to his family proved unavailing ; and their lot must have been one of penury had it not been for the interposition of Lord Derby, Burgoyne's wife's nephew, who removed the children from the custody of the mother and took upon himself their entire maintenance and education. The children were removed by Lord Derby to "the Oaks," near Epsom, a place which had formerly belonged to Burgoyne and which had been sold by him to Lord Derby, after the loss of all his appointments in 1778. A fête given by Gen. Burgoyne in June, 1774, at "the Oaks," on the occasion of the marriage of this very Lord Derby with Lady Betty Hamilton, only daughter of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, was the origin of his drama of "The Maid of the Oaks." This Lord Derby was Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby, who succeeded his grandfather to the earldom in 1776, and who is chiefly known to posterity as a distinguished patron of the turf and the founder of the two great races at Epsom, which bear respectively the names of his title, and place of residence. Six weeks after the death of his wife, in 1797, with whom he lived unhappily, and from whom he had separated, he married Miss Farren, the celebrated actress, with whom he became deeply enamored during the life of his wife. Burgoyne's descendants have filled many high and honorable positions in both the British army and navy, and several of them are still living.³⁹

Burgoyne possessed considerable literary taste, and his dramatic and poetic works were collected in 1808, and printed in two volumes. The most popular of his dramatic compositions was his comedy of *The Heiress*, written at Knowsley in 1785, and performed at Drury Lane in 1786. It was acted for

thirty nights during its first season, ran through ten editions in one year, was translated into four foreign languages, and acted upon the French and German stage.*

Burgoyne's life was essentially a disappointed one. His greatest military effort ended in disaster, and unlike that other British commander that lost an army in America, the Marquis Cornwallis, no opportunity to efface the recollection of defeat in the brilliancy of his after career, was ever afforded him. Though his lawful wife was a daughter of one of the most noble and influential families in England, yet no child of hers survived him, and the offspring of his mistress, alone perpetuates his name. The very splendor of the careers of some of his descendants must at times have keenly reminded them of the blemish on their lineage. Strangely made up must have been that man, who, a father of illegitimate children, denying lawful wedlock to their mother, could deliberately insert in his will, as did Burgoyne, such words as these:—"It has been a comfort to me to hope that my sensualities have never injured nor interrupted the peace of others."

No memorial now marks his grave, and the precise spot is unknown.³ [B. R. ¹M. S. 450. ²B. K. ³M. S. 331 *et post.* ⁴M. S. 413. ⁵E. V. 82. ⁶B. H. ⁷A. M. ⁸I. V. ⁹G. T. Nos. 33 and 34. ¹⁰K. C. 13, 66. ¹¹H. F. 318, 334. ¹²J. H. ¹³H. F. 551. ¹⁴M. S. 404, 422. ¹⁵H. G. 388: J. I. ¹⁶C. E. E. 407, 412. ¹⁷E. W. W. 46. ¹⁸M. T. 303, 304. ¹⁹H. G. 166. ²⁰H. L. 444, 445: B. K. 386. ²¹H. P. 582. ²²A. L. 433. ²³M. P. P. 15. ²⁴C. F. F. 99. ²⁵B. T. T. 467. ²⁶D. K. K. 84. ²⁷B. T. T. 478. ²⁸B. T. T. 481. ²⁹B. T. T. 483. ³⁰M. P. P. 125. ³¹C. F. F. 135. ³²A. U.

345. ³⁴M. P. P. 540. ³⁵M. P. P. 333, 334, note. ³⁶D. K. K. 346, 327. ³⁷M. P. P. 352, 541. ³⁸D. Z. Z. 771. ³⁹M. X. 2-5. ⁴⁰B. K : B. L.]

NO. 7.

SIR GUY CARLETON,

AFTERWARDS LORD DORCHESTER.

The family of Carleton is very old. Guy Carleton was the third son of Christopher Carleton, of Newry, County Down, Ireland, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Henry Ball, and was born at Strabane, Ireland, Sept. 3, 1724.¹ He began his military career in the Guards at an early age, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the First Foot Guards July 22, 1751, and to a captain-lieutenancy therein June 18, 1757; which last promotion gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.² In the campaign in Germany in 1757, he acted as aid to the Duke of Cumberland³; and in 1758 he embarked with Gen. Amherst for the siege of Louisbourg, where his active exertions obtained him considerable credit.⁴ On the 24th of August, 1758, he was made the lieut.-colonel of the 72d Foot.⁵ The next year, when Gen. Wolfe was officering his expedition against Quebec, he selected Lieut.-Colonel Carleton for his quarter master general; but as this officer had given offence to the king, the appointment was secured only through the persistence of the Earl of Chatham, then Mr. Pitt. The anecdote is told at length in Beatson's *Naval and*

Military Memoirs, vol. III, 226, note 142. At the same time Lieut.-Colonel Carleton was likewise appointed a colonel in America only.* On Wolfe's expedition he rendered important services and was singled out as a proper officer to be detached with an adequate force to secure a post on the western point of the Isle d'Orleans, a service which he effectually performed. Sometime after he was again detached to dislodge the French from Point au Trempe, twenty miles distant from Quebec, where he was equally successful⁵; and at the battle on the Heights of Abraham, Sept. 13, 1759, he was wounded, receiving a ball in the head, which, it was feared, had fractured his skull.⁶ He took part in the battle of St. Foy, April 28, 1760, and continued to serve in Canada for some time under Gen. Murray.⁷

On the expedition against Belle Isle, on the coast of France, he acted as one of the brigadier generals; and Gen. Hodgson, who commanded, gave him flattering mention in the official dispatches.⁴ Feb. 19, 1762, he became a colonel in the army⁷; and he soon after embarked for the siege of Havannah, in which expedition he acted as the quarter master general of the British force under the Earl of Albemarle.⁸ On the 10th of the following June he was detached from the camp into the woods between Coximar and the Moro, with a body of light infantry and grenadiers, and on the 11th he carried the Spanish redoubt upon Moro Hill, establishing a post there. His success cost him a wound, for which, however, the brilliant reputation and the ample share of prize money he gained were doubtless sufficient compensation.⁴ In 1763, he was commissioned as the colonel of the 93d Foot, but soon after the peace of that year his regiment was reduced and he went upon

half-pay.* Sept. 24, 1766, he was made the lieut.-governor of Quebec, and when it was determined that the governor, Lieut-Gen. James Murray, should not return, Lieut.-Gov. Carleton was promoted to be governor, Oct. 26, 1768.*⁹ Oct. 3, 1766, he received the local rank of brigadier in North America ; April 2, 1772, he became the colonel of the 47th Foot ; and on the 25th of the following May a major-general.*

During the agitations in America preceding the actual outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the British ministry called on Gen. Carleton for advice,¹⁰ and a writer in the *Annual Register* states that "it is supposed that it was upon his suggestion they brought forward the celebrated Quebec bill. During the agitation of this measure in the House of Commons, he was examined at the bar, and his evidence satisfying both sides of the House of the expediency of the measure, it tended, of course, to accelerate its adoption."¹¹ Upon the passage of the Quebec Act, Gen. Carleton at once repaired to his province, arriving at Quebec, Sept. 18, 1774, in the ship *Canadian*, with his wife and children.¹² He was received with great rejoicing, and several addresses of congratulation were presented to him.¹³ After the Americans surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point he formed a plan for the recovery of those posts, but, for want of British troops and the cordial co-operation of the Canadians, his design failed. When, later in 1775, Gen. Montgomery invaded Canada, Gen. Carleton's energies were taxed to the utmost. For the defence of his whole province he had but a handful of British regulars ; while the fidelity of the British inhabitants was anything but assured.¹⁴ He attempted to relieve St. John's but was defeated in the attempt. When Montreal fell into the hands of the Americans he escaped capture only by

fleeing down the river at night in a birch bark canoe accompanied by the boatmen and his aids-de-camp.¹³ His unceasing activity in rousing the inhabitants, and his unshaken resolution, alone preserved the capital; and the baffled Americans, after losing their brave commander, lingered through the winter in Canada, only to be driven out of the province the following spring upon the arrival of reinforcements from England.¹⁴ Gen. Carleton's humane treatment of American prisoners did much to mitigate the horrors of war; and had all the British commanders in America adopted his wise moderation, the achievement of American independence would have been a much more difficult undertaking than it was.

Jan. 1, 1776, when the military appointments for America incident to the war were made, Gen. Carleton was commissioned a general in America only.¹⁵ His services in defending his province, and especially its capital, obtained recognition by his being appointed a Knight of the Bath, July 6, 1776.¹ Upon the defeat of Benedict Arnold's flotilla on Lake Champlain in Oct., 1776, Carleton occupied Crown Point, which the Americans had abandoned: deterred, however, by the lateness of the season he did not push on to Ticonderoga, but returned to Canada Nov. 3d.

Though the appointment of Burgoyne to the command of the force destined to invade New York in 1777, was not in terms a supersession, yet Sir Guy Carleton felt that it was practically so—at least such an exhibition of lack of confidence as demanded his asking to be relieved of further command in Canada.¹⁶ Sir Guy's letter to Gen. Phillips, printed in the sketch of that officer, shows how little his sense of injury interfered with his duty in regard to the expedition, as he wrote

to Phillips, "it is my intention to provide everything for this detachment with the same care and attention to the good of the service as if I was to command it myself."⁶ His real feelings find expression in the following letter from him to Burgoyne.

"HEAD QUARTERS, QUEBEC,

"19th July, 1777.

"SIR : I received your letter of the 11th Instant in which you submit the expediency to me of supplying from Canada a garrison for Tyconderoga.

"I cannot think it has been left in my power to send any more troops out of the province, and I am persuaded on reading Lord George Germaine's letter to me of the 20th of March last, marked separate, you must be of the same opinion. He not only orders those I am to send and those I am to keep, but points out where the latter are to be posted, and you must observe the Isle aux Noix is the most advanced on your side.

"As to the grand division of the Troops his Lordship leaves no room for our reasoning ; but issues orders, and I might with as great propriety have disregarded the whole as part of his letter : Whatever I may think of His Lordship as an officer, or a statesman, I must respect his office, and as Secretary of State signifying to me the King's pleasure he must be obeyed.

"I am but barely authorized to send you the additional companies, but as Lord Barrington tells me the men were to compleat the corps, and the officers to return home before winter, I shall avail myself of that opening and send all those belonging to the corps you took with you.

“ I am very ready to acknowledge that I think the whole of our Minister’s measures, civil and military, very strange ; indeed, to me they appear incomprehensible, unless they turn upon private enmity and resentment. I was so convinced of this that I lost no time in entreating the King’s permission to resign and return home, in hopes that wiser measures might be pursued by his Lordship after my departure ; I will only add on this head that part of the Troops his Lordship stations so ably are mere paper.”

Sir Guy’s expressions to Lord George Germaine direct, were far more emphatic than those behind his back, as testified by the following letter from him to that nobleman.

“ QUEBEC, 25th June, 1778.

“ MY LORD : I formerly observed that under the disadvantages your Lordship’s displeasure and censure had placed me, prudence required I should afford as little opportunity as possible to all who might desire and find the times favorable for exciting disorder, to the great detriment of the King’s service : for these and other reasons I did not call together the Legislative Council before the 23d of March. * * *

“ Thus on my departure, as on my arrival, I found it necessary to exert some acts of severity : the last I hope, will be attended with consequences as favourable to the tranquillity of the province as the former, for from that event not the least appearance of a cabal of this sort, till your Lordship’s arrangements and new system of politics brought them forth : with my removal, I trust, those measures will change, and tho. the distinguished character of my successor may be of no consid-

eration with your Lordship, the tranquillity of the people, the security of this important province, the dignity and dominion of the crown, will, I now hope, appear worthy of some attention; but should all these still give place to private resentment or private favor, if the power of the crown within the province must be trampled down to exalt the sway of the inferior servants and scribblers, and while callous to the merits of old and faithful servants, all places disposed of like private property to friends and followers, no matter how unqualified, or whom they thrust out, or to such who loud in their own praise and abuse of better men, tho. in both equally unjust; if unconcerned for the interest of the King, our master, his authority must be here destroyed that the rapine and dirt of office may find no restraint, I will venture to prognosticate that instead of subordination, tranquillity and obedience, your Lordship will soon perceive faction and sedition among both troops and people, and this great province run headlong into the same disorders our neighbors have experienced, with no less detriment to the interests of Great Britain.

“To prevent those evils I early wished to retire from before your Lordship’s high displeasure, lest the King’s service and public tranquillity entrusted to my hands, should be destroyed thereby; I have long and impatiently looked out for the arrival of a successor, happy at last to learn his near approach, that into hands less obnoxious to your Lordship I may resign the important command with which I have been honored. Thus for the King’s service as willingly I lay them down, as for his service I took them up—the most essential, and, in truth, the only service in my power to render under your Lordship’s administration.”¹³

Sir Guy's successor, Gen. Haldimand, was not immediately appointed, and it was not until July 29, 1778, that Gen. Carleton, with his family, sailed in the frigate *Montreal*, for England ; and he did not arrive in London till the 13th of the following September. The disastrous result of Burgoyne's campaign created a revulsion of feeling in Sir Guy's favor, and his caution about advancing on Ticonderoga in the autumn of 1776, which had before been condemned, was then understood and appreciated. Hence on his return to England he was honored by the nobility : the Quebec merchants in London gave him, together with General Maclean and Chief Justice Livius of Quebec, who were present with him, an elegant entertainment at the London Tavern, Oct. 1st, as a mark of their respect ; and the king received him with the most gracious condescension, and appointed him Governor of Charlemont, in Ireland, a sine-cure position. Indeed, when, on Sept. 16th, Sir Guy Carleton was first presented at court, after his return, his majesty was pleased to compliment him, at Burgoyne's expense, in these significant terms : " Sir, I am perfectly satisfied with the whole of your conduct during your government in Canada, and should feel the most undescribable felicity had I to thank your judgment for the preservation of an army that hath been unhappily lost through a neglect of those precautions it suggested." ⁸⁰

Sir Guy Carleton became a lieut.-general in the army Aug. 29, 1777 ;⁸¹ and he was subsequently appointed at the head of a commission for examining the Public Accounts."⁸²

Early in March, 1782, Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, as commander-in chief in America, with headquarters at New York. As the fighting was now over,

however, Sir Guy could only distinguish himself by reforming abuses; and many supernumerary officers were discharged, whereby a large amount was saved to the royal treasury. After the treaty of peace was concluded Sir Guy earned for himself the gratitude of those who had remained loyal to the British crown and were forced to abandon their homes, by his firmness and sense of justice in protecting their interests as far as possible. For a most interesting sketch of this important period by one of the loyalists themselves, see Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War.

In consideration of his eminent services during the American war, Sir Guy Carleton was elevated to the peerage Aug. 21, 1786, as Baron Dorchester, of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, having previously obtained a pension of £1000 *per annum* for his own life and the lives of his wife and two eldest sons.²² April 11, 1786, he was again appointed Governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and he continued in that government till 1796,¹ save a single year's absence.²³

He became the colonel of the 15th, or King's Regiment of Light Dragoons, July 16, 1790; a general in the army, Oct. 12, 1793; the colonel of the 27th Dragoons, March 18, 1801; and the colonel of the 4th, or Queen's Own Dragoons, Aug. 14, 1802, with which latter corps he remained connected until his death.²

After his return from America he lived a very retired life, chiefly residing in the country; first at Kempshot, near Basingstoke, in Hants, and afterwards at his seat in Berkshire, near Maidenhead, where he died suddenly Nov. 10, 1808.⁴

His lordship, though then without a title, married at the bishop of London's Palace, at Fulham, on May 22, 1772, Lady Maria, third daughter of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Effingham, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Beckford, Esq., of Jamaica; and by her ladyship, who was born Aug. 30, 1753, and hence twenty-nine years his junior, he had a large family of children, several of whom died in his lifetime.¹ His third son, Christopher, and his fourth son, George, were lieut.-colonels in the army, the latter of whom was killed at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1814. Lord Dorchester was succeeded in the barony by the son of his third son; and on the second baron's death, in 1826, the barony passed to Guy, a son of the first Lord Dorchester's fourth son.²²

The *Georgian Era*, vol. 2, p. 71, gives this appreciative estimate of Sir Guy:—"As a soldier, Lord Dorchester appears to have deservedly obtained a high reputation for courage and skill. Misfortune animated him to redoubled exertion; he always made the utmost of his resources; and had the valuable quality of adapting small means to the achievement of great results." [¹C. D. 112-117. ²B. H. ³A. P. 226, note 142. ⁴A. E. 162. ⁵B. W. 189. ⁶J. Z. 42. ⁷I. F. 82. ⁸A. P. 395, note 193. ⁹F. O. 277. ¹⁰C. 189. ¹¹J. B. ¹²C. 791. ¹³F. Z. 97: F. 1178. ¹⁴F. 456. ¹⁵B. N. App. 17. ¹⁶F. B. 470. ¹⁷F. B. 609-611. ¹⁸F. D. 192-199. ¹⁹H. J. 258, 262. ²⁰H. J. 270, 274, 278, 323. ²¹H. N. 42. ²²B. R. ²³K. U. 288.]

NO. 8.

GEN. DAVID WATERBURY.

David Waterbury, 3d, or David Waterbury, Jr., as he signed himself later in life, was a son of John, and Susanna Waterbury, and was born Feb. 12, 1722, at Stamford, Connecticut, where his father had long been settled and had taken a prominent part in town affairs.¹ David followed in the footsteps of his ancestors and early developed an interest in public matters. In 1747 he was a lieutenant in the state militia, and in October 1750, he was appointed the captain of the first company, or train band, in Stamford. He took an active part in the French and Indian War in which he saw much service, as he was connected with Connecticut regiments throughout six campaigns. His commissions at this time were as follows:—March, 1755, 1st lieutenant Fourth Company, Second Regiment; March, 1756, captain 5th Company, 4th Regiment; February, 1757, captain 6th Company of the only regiment Connecticut sent into service that year, and which consisted of fourteen companies of 100 men each, Israel Putnam being captain of the 4th Company; March, 1758, captain 4th Company, 4th Regiment; March, 1759, major 3d Regiment; March, 1760, major 3d Regiment, the Connecticut regiments being raised for a campaign not exceeding one year.² He was under Sir William Johnson at Dieskau's defeat in 1755, and he was present at Abercromby's unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, besides taking part in many less important operations.³⁻⁴

He likewise served his town in various civil capacities. In 1747 he was a member of the School Committee,⁵ and he was a representative in the General Assembly during seven sessions between 1769 and 1776, the elections being held semi-annually. He was one of the selectmen of Stamford in 1754, and again in 1771, and for seven years thereafter.⁶

At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut in March, 1775, he was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Regiment; and the next month, when a quarter of the state militia was ordered forthwith to be enlisted, equipped and assembled for the safety of the colony, he was appointed colonel of the 5th Regiment.⁷ Col. Waterbury at once put his command in condition to take the field, and June 15th, 1775, reported it at Stamford ready for orders. Four days later, New York, alarmed for its safety, called for Wooster's and Waterbury's Connecticut troops to march within five miles of that city, and thither they immediately repaired.⁸ Being ordered to the Northern Department, Col. Waterbury with a thousand men marched from the camp at Harlem, for Albany, July 21st.⁹ Continuing northward he and his command reached Ticonderoga the middle of August, and, on the 28th of that month, embarked with Gen. Montgomery on the Canadian expedition.¹⁰ Col. Waterbury was present at the siege of St. John's, and at the surrender of Montreal; at which latter place he remained until the expiration of his term; he and his regiment being discharged about Dec. 1, 1775.¹¹ During its brief service Col. Waterbury's regiment, in common with the other troops under Montgomery, suffered much from sickness; no less than 173 of the 5th Connecticut having been

discharged for disability from July 25th to Sept. 20th ; and on the 12th of Sept., it had but 500 men fit for duty."⁹

Dec. 11th, 1775, Col. Waterbury, who had previously been a member of the Committee of Safety of his town, was re-appointed,⁸ and he seems to have rendered active service in that capacity, and as a committee of the Legislature, for the defence of the colony.¹³ Jan. 12th, 1776, Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, issued a proclamation for raising two regiments of 750 men each, to be commanded by Cols. Waterbury and Ward, and to serve in New York under Gen. Lee, it then being thought that New York city was in imminent danger of being attacked.¹⁴ Col. Waterbury speedily proceeded to that city and was employed in disarming the disaffected in the neighboring county of Westchester. He was evidently not favorably impressed with the loyalty of the New Yorkers, as Joseph Cheesman made an affidavit on the 2d of March, 1776, that "being on board of a boat in Peck's Slip, he heard Colonel Waterbury say that he had for sometime thought that things would not go well unless the City of New York was crushed down, and that it must be done by their people before things would go well."¹⁵

April 29th, 1776, Gov. Trumbull recommended Col. Waterbury to Gen. Washington in these flattering terms :— "David Waterbury, Jun. of Stamford, Esquire, Colonel of a regiment from this Colony in the Northern Department the last year, and at the taking of St. John's and Montreal, and lately in service at New York, with Major General Lee ; at all times behaved with bravery and honour. When you have a vacancy in the Army answerable to his rank do heartily recommend him to your kind notice and regard."¹⁶

This recommendation elicited the following letter from Gen. Washington to Col. Waterbury :—

“ NEW YORK, *May 13, 1776.*

“ SIR : Governour Trumbull has been pleased to mention you to me as a proper person to succeed to the command of the regiment lately General Arnold's. If you incline to engage in the service again, I should be obliged to you for signifying as much, in order that I may lay the matter before Congress for their approbation.

“ I am, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Col. Waterbury, though apparently flattered by the good opinion of the commander-in-chief, felt, nevertheless, that he had been overlooked too long, as he would now be ranked by men who had been his juniors. His answer will perhaps afford a better insight into the man's education and character, than any thing of his that has come down to us, and hence it is here inserted in full, and is as follows :

“ HARTFORD, *May 20, 1776.*

“ DEAR SIR : After my best wishes to your Excellency, praying God may preserve you through the many dangers and difficulties that attend the calling you are now engaged in ; hoping your Excellency and the Army under your command, may be the means, under God, to the saving of our land from ruin : I received your Excellency's favour of the 13th instant, and can answer the request : that is, I should take it as an honour done to me to be an officer under your command ; but

as I am well assured that your Excellency delights to see justice done to every officer and soldier in your Army, your Excellency must know that I have not had justice done me. I never had a Continental commission offered me, although it is said, since I returned home, that I refused one while in Canada. I never had the offer, although I took such an active part in the Northern expedition last fall. There were but four small companies that went down with the Generals, besides me and my regiment. When we first took the ground at St. John's, never man laboured through an expedition with more fatigue and hardship than I did; and now to take rank under those that were but Lieutenant Colonels at that time, and others that were Colonels that ranked under me, I should think it would look as though I had done something that was not to my honour, in being set back. If your Excellency sees cause to lay the case before the honourable Congress, and they see cause to give me my proper rank, I shall cheerfully accept your Excellency's offer, and ever make it the height of my ambition to render my services acceptable to your Excellency and my bleeding country; and if not, and your Excellency is attacked, I shall come to your assistance as a volunteer, upon the shortest notice. And am with every sentiment of respect and regard, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

“ DAVID WATERBURY, JUN.

“ P. S. My being at Hartford instead of being at Stamford is the reason of my not answering your Excellency's favour sooner.”¹⁸

Here the correspondence seems to have ended, and Colonel Waterbury never received a continental commission. At the

May Session, 1776, the General Assembly of Connecticut, in view of the alarming movements of the British troops, voted to raise two regiments, and appointed David Waterbury, Jr. to be colonel of one of them to be stationed at or near New London.¹⁹ Gov. Trumbull called the General Assembly together again on the 14th of June to take into consideration the requisitions of Congress of the 1st and 3d of June, for reinforcements to the armies at New York and in Canada. It accordingly met and cheerfully granted the reinforcements required. That for the Northern Department consisted of two regiments, and Col. Waterbury was appointed a brigadier general for that Department.²⁰ This force was promptly raised, and arrived at New York July 5th and 6th, at Saratoga July 12th, and two or three days later at Skenesborough, where a dock yard had been established, in which a fleet was being constructed for Lake Champlain; and to the command of that post Gen. Waterbury was assigned.²¹ There he remained the rest of the summer of 1776, actively engaged in pushing the flotilla to completion, as indicated by the voluminous correspondence carried on between him and Gen. Gates to be found in the American Archives, 5th series, vols. 1 and 2. Under date of August 22d, he wrote to Gen. Gates as follows:—"You may rely upon my diligence in forwarding the galleys as fast as possible. The business has been much retarded by so many of the carpenters being sick, and the misfortune I met with in hurting my leg, which for some days has rendered me incapable of attending upon the business; but my leg is growing better fast, and shall endeavour to forward the business with all possible despatch."²² Four days later he added this postscript to a letter to the same correspondent:—"I have now got so well

of my lameness that I am able to go among the workmen."²³ Oct. 6th, Gen. Waterbury joined the fleet which was under the command of Gen. Benedict Arnold²⁴, and was made second in command, the third being Col. Wigglesworth, who, Arnold says, "is a good seaman, appears to be much of a gentleman, and has, as far as I can learn, an unimpeached good character."²⁵ The opinion entertained of Waterbury is shown by a letter from Gates to Schuyler, dated Aug. 18, in which the writer says:

"I expect General Waterbury by Saturday night with the row galleys. As he is an able seaman and a brave officer, I intend he shall join General Arnold with the rest of the squadron the instant they can be armed and equipped. As General Arnold and he are upon the best terms, I am satisfied no dispute about command or want of confidence in each other will retard the public service."²⁶

Oct. 11, 1776, the battle of Valcour Bay was fought between the American and British fleets, the latter under the command of Capt. Thomas Pringle, though Sir Guy Carleton was likewise aboard the fleet, and, in a measure, shared the responsibility of command. The Congress was Arnold's flagship, and Gen. Waterbury was on the Washington. The American fleet was so badly crippled that it was obliged to retreat to Crown Point; and to this end it eluded British vigilance, passed unobserved through the opposing squadron the night after the battle, and started up the lake. The next day and the next night the British pursued, and captured or destroyed the large majority of the American vessels, the Washington, with Gen. Waterbury, being captured. Gen. Wilkinson, who in his youthful days was an aid to Gates when

in command of the Northern Department, seems not to have meted out to Gen. Waterbury that justice, which he himself so bitterly complained in his Memoirs, of not receiving in the war of 1812; and his injustice to a meritorious officer abridges, on the divine principle that "with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," the sympathy which his readers might, perhaps, otherwise feel for him. Wilkinson, who, it will be remembered, was not in the action at all, and whose Memoirs were written nearly forty years after, says:—"General Waterbury in the Washington galley, had been ordered to keep abreast of the Congress, and to coöperate with his battery, which was of equal weight; but he suffered a schooner to run under his stern, and struck to her without firing a gun. By this dastardly act Arnold was exposed to the broadsides of the schooner, the battery of the captured galley, and the bow chasers of the ship and other schooners," etc.²⁷ The inexcusable lack of accuracy in Wilkinson's statement and his reprehensible disposition to cast unmerited blame upon an unfortunate but gallant officer, is proved by the views and reports of those who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth of what they affirmed. Gen. Arnold in his report to Gen. Gates of the affair in Valcour Bay, Oct. 11th, and which was written from Schuyler's Island Oct. 12th, during the retreat, says:—"The Congress and Washington have suffered greatly; the latter lost her First Lieutenant killed, Captain and Master wounded. The New York lost all her officers except the Captain. The Philadelphia was hulled in so many places that she sunk about one hour after the engagement was over. The whole killed and wounded amounted to about sixty. * * *

We suffered much for want of seamen and gunners. I was obliged myself to point most of the guns on board the Congress, which I believe did good execution. The Congress received seven shot between wind and water ; was hulled a dozen times ; had her mainmast wounded in two places, and her yard in one. The Washington was hulled a number of times ; her mainmast shot through, and must have a new one. On consulting with General Waterbury and Colonel Wigglesworth, it was thought prudent to retreat to Crown Point ; every vessel's ammunition being nearly three-fourths spent, and the enemy greatly superiour to us in ships and men. At seven o'clock Colonel Wigglesworth, in the Trumbull, got under way ; the gondolas and small vessels followed ; and the Congress and Washington brought up the rear. The enemy did not attempt to molest us. Most of the fleet is this minute come to an anchor. The wind is small to the southward. The enemy's fleet is under way to leeward, and beating up. As soon as our leaks are stopped, the whole fleet will make the utmost despatch to Crown Point, where I beg you will send ammunition, and your further orders for us. On the whole I think we have had a very fortunate escape, and have great reason to return our humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God for preserving and delivering so many of us from our more than savage enemies."²⁸ Gen. Arnold in his report to Gen. Schuyler after the retreat was concluded, wrote as follows :—

“TICONDEROGA, *October 15th, 1776.*

“DEAR GENERAL : I make no doubt before this you have received a copy of my letter to General Gates of the 12th instant, dated at Schuyler's Island, advising of an action

between our fleet and the enemy the preceding day ; in which we lost a schooner and a gondola. We remained no longer at Schuyler's Island then to stop our leaks, and mend the sails of the Washington. At two o'clock P. M., the 12th, weighed anchor with a fresh breeze to the southward. The enemy's fleet at the same time got under way ; our gondolas made very little way ahead. In the evening the wind moderated, and we made such progress that at six o'clock next morning we were about off Willsborough, twenty-eight miles from Crown Point. The enemy's fleet were very little way above Schuyler's Island ; the wind breezed up to the southward, so that we gained very little by beating or rowing, at the same time the enemy took a fresh breeze from the north-east, and by the time we had reached Split-Rock, were alongside of us. The Washington and Congress were in the rear, the rest of our fleet were ahead except two gondolas sunk at Schuyler's Island. The Washington was in such a shattered condition, and had so many killed and wounded she struck to the enemy after receiving a few broadsides. * * Of our whole fleet we have saved only two galleys, two small schooners, one gondola, and one sloop. General Waterbury with one hundred and ten prisoners, were returned by Carleton last night."²⁹

Nowhere has Arnold a word of censure for Waterbury, and he was not a man to withhold it, had it been deserved. Gen. Schuyler, who was close by the scene of action, and whose duty it was to know whereof he spoke, thus wrote to Gov. Trumbull within a week of the Lake Champlain affair :—
“ General Waterbury, who is prisoner on his parole, is on his way from Albany to Connecticut. I have advised him to go directly from Albany to you. He is capable of giving you

that information you requested in your last favour to me. He is not only a brave and good officer, but a candid and honest man, uninfluenced by any unbecoming prejudices. He will also acquaint you with the state of our affairs at Ticonderoga."³⁰ Finally, Gen. Waterbury's own account addressed to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, entirely disposes of Wilkinson's injustice, were anything more needed. It as follows :—

STAMFORD, *October 24, 1776.*

"HONOURED SIR : I have now returned home on parole. Your Honour has undoubtedly heard of my misfortune of being taken prisoner on the 13th instant, on Lake Champlain. I shall give your Honour a short sketch of our engagement, which is as follows :

"On Friday morning, of the 11th instant, our alarm-guns were fired, that the enemy's fleet was off Cumberland-Head. I immediately went on board of General Arnold, and told him that I gave it as my opinion that the fleet ought immediately to come to sail, and fight them on a retreat in main Lake, as they were so much superiour to us in number and strength, and we being in such a disadvantageous harbour to fight a number so much superiour, and the enemy being able with their small boats to surround us on every side, as I knew they could, we lying between an island and the main. But General Arnold was of the opinion that it was best to draw the fleet in a line where we lay, in the bay of Valcour. The fleet very soon came up with us, and surrounded us, when a very hot engagement ensued from ten o'clock in the morning till towards sunset, when the enemy withdrew. We immediately held council, to

secure a retreat through their fleet, to get to Crown Point, which was done with so much secrecy that we went through them entirely undiscovered. The enemy finding next morning that we had retreated, immediately pursued us. The wind being against us, and my vessel so torn to pieces that it was almost impossible to keep her above water; my sails was so shot, that carrying sail split them from foot to head, and I was obliged to come to anchor at twelve o'clock, to mend my sails. When we had completed that, we made sail, just at evening. The enemy still pursued all night. I found next morning that they gained upon us very fast, and that they would very soon overtake me. The rest of the fleet all being much ahead of me, I sent my boat on board of General Arnold, to get liberty to put my wounded in the boat, and send them forward, and run my vessel on shore, and blow her up. I received for answer, by no means to run her ashore, but to push forward to Split Rock, where he would draw the fleet in a line, and engage them again; but when I came to Split Rock, the whole fleet was making their escape as fast as they could, and left me in the rear, to fall into the enemy's hands. But before I struck to them, the ship of eighteen twelve-pounders, and a schooner of fourteen six-pounders, had surrounded me, which obliged me to strike, and I thought it prudent to surrender myself prisoner of war. As soon as I was taken, General Arnold, with four gondolas, run ashore, and blew up the vessels ahead of me. One thing I have omitted in the former part of my letter, that is, the Royal Savage run ashore on the Point of Valcour, in the first of the engagement, and was lost. * * * Sir, I would have waited on the Congress in person, had it not been that my parole confined me to

Connecticut. But I hope that I shall not be neglected in being exchanged, if any opportunity there be.”³

Sir Guy Carleton's treatment of Gen. Waterbury and the other prisoners taken on Lake Champlain, affords a good insight into that officer's character. Col. J. Trumbull, in *Reminiscences of his own Times*, page 36, writes as follows : “ On this occasion Sir Guy Carleton, who commanded the hostile fleet and army, behaved with a degree of humanity, as well as policy, which, if it had been generally employed by other royal commanders, might have exposed to great hazard the success of America. As soon as the action was over, Sir Guy gave orders to the Surgeons of his own troops, to treat the wounded prisoners with the same care as they did his own men. He then ordered that all the other prisoners should be immediately brought on board his own ship, the *Royal Charlotte*, where he first treated them to a drink of grog, and then spoke kindly to them, praised the bravery of their conduct, regretted that it had not been displayed in the service of their lawful sovereign, and offered to send them home to their friends, on their giving their parole that they would not again bear arms against Great Britain until they should be exchanged. He then invited Gen. Waterbury to go below with him to his cabin, and requested to see his commission : the moment he saw that it was signed by the Governor of Connecticut (my father), he held out his hand and said, ‘ General Waterbury, I am happy to take you by the hand, now that I see that you are not serving under a commission and orders of the Rebel Congress, but of Gov. Trumbull. You are acting under a legitimate and lawful authority. He is responsible for the

abuse he has made of that authority. That which is a high crime in him, is but an error in you ; it was your duty to obey him, your legitimate superiour.' A few days after this defeat, a number of row-boats approached our advanced post, and there lay upon their oars with a flag of truce. I was ordered to go down and learn their object. I found Capt. Craig (afterwards Sir James Craig, and governor of Canada), with Gen. Waterbury and the other prisoners who had been taken in the recent action, dismissed, as Sir Guy had promised, upon parole. The usual civilities passed between Sir James and me, and I received the prisoners ; all were warm in their acknowledgement of the kindness with which they had been treated, and which appeared to me to have made a very dangerous impression. I therefore placed the boats containing the prisoners under the guns of a battery, and gave orders that no one should be permitted to land, and no intercourse take place with the troops on shore until orders should be received from Gen. Gates. I hurried to make my report to him, and suggested the danger of permitting these men to have any intercourse with our troops ; accordingly they were ordered to proceed immediately to Skenesborough, on their way home, and they went forward that night, without being permitted to land."

No accounts have been found of Gen. Waterbury's participating in any subsequent engagements during the war, though he rendered more or less military service. He commanded a brigade under Gen. Washington in the summer of 1781, and the latest mention of him, so far as found, is in an order issued by Washington Aug. 5th, 1781st, though he was in camp near

Stamford as late as Aug. 24th in that year.³³ After the Revolution he spent the remainder of his days in his native town, where he cultivated a farm. He seems to have been held in honor by his fellow townsmen, whom he represented in the general assembly in 1783, 1794 and 1795. He died June 29, 1801, leaving a widow and two children surviving him.³⁴ Gen. Waterbury rendered much faithful service during our struggle for liberty, and seems to have earned the confidence of all with whom he came in contact, so that Gen. Schuyler's estimate of him was undoubtedly just, when he said, in writing to Gen. Gates from Albany, under date of Aug. 20th, 1776—"I am extremely happy that General Waterbury is to join General Arnold. I know him to be a good man, as well as a good officer."³⁵ [¹G. M. 417. ²C. G. 556 : C. H. 346, 473, 601 : C. I. 98, 226, 355. ³A. H. 206-211, 298. ⁴C. H. 336, 473 : C. I. 240, 355, 363, 542. ⁵G. M. 347. ⁶G. M. 467, 471. ⁷F. S. 163-168. ⁸G. M. 223. ⁹F. S. 45. ¹⁰F. S. 49 : E. 135, 467, 469. ¹¹F. S. 136. ¹²E. 738, 797. ¹³F. S. 197. ¹⁴F. 1154. ¹⁵F. 274, 342. ¹⁶F. 1133. ¹⁷H. 436. ¹⁸G. 1001. ¹⁹F. S. 207. ²⁰I. 28 : F. S. 221, 223. ²¹I. 41, 237, 340. ²²I. 1114. ²³I. 1154. ²⁴J. 633. ²⁵J. 186. ²⁶I. 1218. ²⁷M. T. 91. ²⁸J. 1038. ²⁹J. 1079. ³⁰J. 1125. ³¹J. 1224. ³²N. 314. ³³G. M. 230. ³⁴G. M. 423, 467, 468. ³⁵I. 1083.]

NO. 9.

BRIG. GENERAL SIMON FRASER.

Simon Fraser's early years are shrouded in obscurity. Jesse, and some other writers, fall into the palpable error of confounding him with Simon Fraser, the son of Lord Lovat. "Simon Fraser," says Dr. O'Callaghan, in Burgoyne's *Orderly Book*, page 184, "was the youngest son, as is said, of Hugh Frazer of Bannain. His mother was daughter of the Frazer of Forgers," Fontblanque, in his *Life of Burgoyne*, page 221, note, says that Simon Fraser was a younger son of Alexander Fraser of Bannain and Giendo, of the Ferraline branch of the Lovat family, by a daughter of Angus Mackintosh of Killachy, from whom the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh was directly descended. Sir James Mackintosh, in writing about his ancestry, says—"My father, Captain John Mackintosh, was the representative of a family which had for about two centuries possessed a small estate called Keshachie, which I inherited from him, and which I was obliged to sell. He had served four and twenty years in the army, into which he entered very young. He was very severely wounded at Fellinghausen in the seven years war; and his last place of service was Gibraltar, where he was during the whole siege. My mother was Marjory, the daughter of Mr. Alexander Macgillivray, by Anne Fraser, sister of Brigadier General Fraser, who was killed in General Burgoyne's army in 1777; aunt to Dr. Fraser, physician in London; and to Mrs. Fraser Tytler, wife of Lord Woodhouselee, now (1805) a judge of the Court of Session in Scotland."* These contra-

dictory accounts contain all we know of the parentage of this distinguished officer.

Fonblanque says that Simon Fraser was born in 1729, and entered the army at an early age. His entrance into the British military service probably dates subsequently to the issue of the Army List of 1754, as no subaltern of that name appears in that List. It is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to determine the date of his first commission, as no less than eight Simon Frasers appear in the Army List of 1757, six of whom belonged to Fraser's Highlanders, as the Second Highland Battalion, afterwards the 78th Foot, was called. In that organization, besides the lieutenant-colonel commandant and a captain, there were four subalterns of that name, the latter ranking as follows, viz:—an ensign appointed Jan. 9, 1757, and three lieutenants appointed respectively Jan. 5, Jan. 30, and Feb. 8, all in 1757. Then, of the same name, there was an ensign in the 50th Foot dating from Jan. 1, 1756, and a lieutenant in the 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, dating from Jan. 31, 1756.

We think we can positively trace the commissions of the subject of this sketch as follows:—in the 78th Foot, lieutenant Jan. 5, 1757, captain-lieutenant Sept. 27, 1758, captain April 22, 1759; major in the army March 15, 1761; in the 24th Foot, major Feb. 8, 1762, and lieutenant-colonel July 14, 1768.³ June 10, 1776, less than a fortnight after his arrival in Canada, Gen. Carleton appointed him to act as a brigadier till the king's pleasure could be known⁴, an appointment which in due time received the royal confirmation.⁵ His next commission was that of a colonel in the army, his appointment being gazetted July 22, 1777.⁶ He served with his regiment in the expedition against

Louisbourg, and accompanied Gen. Wolfe to Quebec. He did garrison duty at Gibraltar for a few years, and then was stationed in Ireland³, whence he embarked with the 24th on the 5th of April, 1776, arriving at Quebec on the 28th of the following May. Gen. Fraser assisted in driving the Americans out of Canada. He commanded the British in the affair at Three Rivers, and, in 1777, he participated in Burgoyne's campaign, which he did not live to finish.⁷

Few letters from the pen of this gallant officer have come down to us, and the following, therefore, is inserted for the light it sheds on his education and character. It is addressed on the outside—"To Major General Gates or officer commanding the Forces near Half Moon,"—and is sealed with an impression in sealing wax of his coat of arms. It is as follows, viz :—

"7th September, 1777.

"SIR. It has been represented to me, by several deserters from your army that Mr. Simon Fraser, a prisoner taken at Bennington, is treated with an uncommon degree of severity. If this report is true I am persuaded it must be owing to some misrepresentation. This person is an Inhabitant on Hoosac Creek, and is the Father of nine children ; he joined us at F. Edward with other Loyalists, and I got him placed in a Civil employment from which he could draw some temporary income ; he imagined the detachment under the late Lieut.-Col. Baume would have passed near his house, he went along with it, and as it did not go within many miles of his habitation was taken in the action, I am told without arms. Now, Sir, I can appeal to your humanity, if a person answering this description is an object of resentment, or if he deserves to be distinguished

by particular ill treatment, and if upon enquiry, you will find his case to be, as thus stated, I hope you will have the goodness to give directions for his enlargement, and putting him on the same footing with other prisoners of war. I send five guineas by the Drummer Major of the 24th Regiment for the use of Mr. Fraser, and must request the favor of some gentleman in your family to forward it to him.

“ I have the honor to be Sir

“ Your most obed't humble Servant

“ Sim. Fraser

“ B. General.”⁸

October 7, 1777, General Fraser was shot and mortally wounded at Bemus' Heights by Morgan's riflemen pursuant to special instructions, it is said, from Colonel Morgan himself.⁹ The particulars of his death and burial are thus related by Madame Riedesel in her Journal :—“ Suddenly, however, on the 7th of October, my husband, with the whole general staff, decamped. Our misfortunes may be said to date from this moment. I had just sat down with my husband at his quarters to breakfast. General Frazer, and, I believe, Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, also, were to have dined with me on the same day. I observed considerable movement among the troops. My husband thereupon informed me, that there was to be a reconnoissance, which, however, did not surprise me, as this often happened. On my way homeward, I met many savages in their war-dress, armed with guns. To my question where they were going, they cried out to me, ‘ War ! war ! ’ which meant that they were going to fight. This completely overwhelmed me, and I had scarcely got back to my quarters,

when I heard skirmishing, and firing, which by degrees, became constantly heavier, until, finally, the noises became frightful. It was a terrible cannonade, and I was more dead than alive. About three o'clock in the afternoon, in place of the guests who were to have dined with me, they brought in to me, upon a litter, poor General Frazer (one of my expected guests), mortally wounded. Our dining table, which was already spread, was taken away, and in its place they fixed up a bed for the general. I sat in a corner of the room trembling and quaking. The noises grew continually louder. The thought that they might bring in my husband in the same manner was to me dreadful, and tormented me incessantly. The general said to the surgeon, 'Do not conceal anything from me. Must I die?' The ball had gone through his bowels, precisely as in the case of Major Harnage. Unfortunately, however, the general had eaten a hearty breakfast, by reason of which the intestines were distended, and the ball, so the surgeon said, had not gone, as in the case of Major Harnage, between the intestines, but through them. I heard him often, amidst his groans, exclaim, 'Oh, fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! My poor wife!' Prayers were read to him. He then sent a message to General Burgoyne, begging that he would have him buried the following day at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a hill, which was a sort of a redoubt. I knew no longer which way to turn. The whole entry and the other rooms were filled with the sick, who were suffering with the camp-sickness, a kind of dysentery. Finally, toward evening, I saw my husband coming, upon which I forgot all my sufferings, and thanked God that he had spared him to me. He ate in great haste with me and his adjutant, behind the house. We had been told that we had gained an advantage over

the enemy, but the sorrowful and down-cast faces which I beheld, bore witness to the contrary, and before my husband again went away, he drew me one side and told me everything might go very badly, and that I must keep myself in constant readiness for departure, but by no means to give any one the least inkling of what I was doing. I therefore pretended that I wished to move into my new house the next morning, and had everything packed up. My lady Ackland occupied a tent not far from our house. In this she slept, but during the day was in the camp. Suddenly one came to tell her that her husband was mortally wounded, and had been taken prisoner. At this she became very wretched. We comforted her by saying that it was only a slight wound, but as no one could nurse him as well as herself, we counseled her to go at once to him, to do which she could certainly obtain permission. She loved him very much, although he was a plain, rough man, and was almost daily intoxicated; with this exception, however, he was an excellent officer. She was the loveliest of women. I spent the night in this manner—at one time comforting her, and at another looking after my children, whom I had put to bed. As for myself, I could not go to sleep, as I had General Frazer and all the other gentlemen in my room, and was constantly afraid that my children would wake up and cry, and thus disturb the poor dying man, who often sent to beg my pardon for making me so much trouble. About three o'clock in the morning, they told me that he could not last much longer. I had desired to be apprised of the approach of this moment. I, accordingly, wrapped up the children in the bed coverings, and went with them into the entry. Early in the morning, at eight o'clock, he expired. After they had washed the corpse,

they wrapped it in a sheet and laid it on a bedstead. We then again came into the room, and had this sad sight before us the whole day. At every instant, also, wounded officers of my acquaintance arrived, and the cannonade again began. A retreat was spoken of, but there was not the least movement made toward it. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the new house which had been built for me, in flames: the enemy, therefore, were not far from us. We learned that General Burgoyne intended to fulfill the last wish of General Frazer, and to have him buried at six o'clock, in the place designated by him. This occasioned an unnecessary delay, to which a part of the misfortunes of the army was owing. Precisely at six o'clock the corpse was brought out, and we saw the entire body of generals with their retinues on the hill assisting at the obsequies. The English chaplain, Mr. Brudenel, performed the funeral services. The cannon balls flew continually around and over the party. The American general, Gates, afterward said, that if he had known that it was a burial he would not have allowed any firing in that direction."

Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Kingston, in his evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in referring to the burial of General Fraser, said,—“I never saw so affecting a sight.” General Burgoyne spoke of it in this graphic manner—“About sun-set the corpse of General Fraser was brought up the hill, attended only by the officers who had lived in his family. To arrive at the redoubt, it passed within view of the greatest part of both armies. General Phillips, General Riedesel, and myself, who were standing together, were struck with the humility of the procession: They who

were ignorant that privacy had been requested, might construe it neglect. We could neither endure that reflection, nor indeed restrain our natural propensity to pay our last attention to his remains. The circumstances that ensued cannot be better described than they have been by different witnesses. The incessant cannonade during the solemnity ; the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw up on all sides of him ; the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance ; these objects will remain to the last of life upon the minds of every man who was present. The growing duskiess added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited—To the canvas and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend ! I consign thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period, find due distinction ; and long may they survive ;—long after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten.”¹⁰

Early in the autumn of 1769, Gen. Fraser was married to Mrs. Grant^a of Percy Street, London, who survived him.

a. The following notice of a novel trial, in which this lady was a party, is extracted from the *London Chronicle* for July 4-6, 1780, vol. 48, page 10: “Yesterday” (July 3 1780), “was tried before the Right Hon. Earl Mansfield and a special jury, a cause wherein Mr. Schreiber, a merchant, was plaintiff, and Mrs. Frazer, widow of the late Gen. Fraser, was defendant. The action was brought for damages on a breach of promise of marriage. Mr. Dunning opened for the plaintiff, and brought witnesses to

prove the promises. The first, and principal, was the plaintiff’s son ; who deposed, that the Lady had acknowledged to him her having consented to marry his father. A man servant deposed, that his mistress had engaged him to go abroad with her to Germany, in case of the marriage taking place. Mr. Christie was brought to prove that the plaintiff bought a house in Portland Place, at the price of £4100, and on account of the marriage not taking place, had sold it again for £3600. A Horse-dealer

From the testimony that has come down to us Gen. Fraser can hardly be too highly extolled as a soldier. He commanded the light brigade on Burgoyne's campaign, and thus was ever in the advance, rendering throughout the most efficient services. He defeated the Americans at Three Rivers, and at Hubbardton ; and had his views been followed at Bennington the stupid blunder of employing heavy German dismounted dragoons on an expedition requiring rapidity of movement and celerity of action, would never have been committed." His successor in the command of the light infantry, and his intimate friend, the Earl of Balcarras, thus spoke of him :—" General Fraser's temper

proved he had bought 4 horses at 35 guineas each, and sold them again all 4 at 74 guineas. A Coach-maker proved he had bought two carriages for £200 : A Taylor proved making a suit of livery, on account of the promised marriage.

Mr. Solicitor General pleaded, that his client had no objection to the person, character, or fortune of the plaintiff, who is certainly a very respectable wealthy merchant, and in every respect a very advantageous match for her ; that in the course of the treaty, she began to think Mr. Schreiber's temper and hers might not agree; in that case, the match would render both parties extremely unhappy, for which reason she thought best to retract, though evidently to her own loss and disadvantage, his fortune being far superior to hers. He further observed, that no attempt had been made to prove his client a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below the plaintiff to want to take from her small pittance, and add to his own great abundance. Here he was stopped by Mr. Dunning, who adduced proof that the Lady's fortune here, in the East Indies, and America, amounted to £24,000, or upwards.

Mr. Solicitor General replied, that the

fortune in England might be ascertained, but that abroad could not; but with regard to fortune, his client had suffered most by breaking off the match, for she was to have her own fortune at her own disposal, £300 a year pin money, £10,000 settled upon her, and the house at Forty Hill, or at her option £5000 instead of it, in all £15,000 in case of her survival.

Lord Mansfield, in summing up the evidence, observed, that the promise of marriage was proved; that certainly each party, engaged to marry, has a right to retract at any time previous to the ceremony, and even before the Priest, if they apprehended unhappiness to be the event; but it was under this circumstance that the party retracting, if able, should make good the damages sustained by the other through the treaty—the plaintiff had proved some damages—it was for the jury to assess the quantum. The jury, after a consultation of a few minutes, gave a verdict of £600 damages, with costs."

This lady was married at Edinburgh, April 16, 1781, to an advocate named George Buchan Hepburn. [D. X. 194].

was warm, open and communicative, but reserved in matters of confidence.”¹³ Burgoyne never named him but to praise. In his official report to Lord George Germaine, dated Skenesborough July 11, 1777, the lieutenant-general, in referring to the affair at Hubbardton, says: “I have only to add that the exertions of Brigadier Fraser on this day were but a continuance of that uniform intelligence, activity and bravery, which distinguish his character on all occasions, and entitle him to be recommended in the most particular manner to his Majesty’s favour.” In his report, dated Albany, Oct. 20, 1777, he paid this tribute to the deceased brigadier:—“The British officers have bled profusely and most honourably, but the extensive merits which marked the public and private character of Brigadier-General Fraser will long remain upon the memory of this army, and make his loss a subject of particular regret.” Finally in the State of the Expedition, page 118, when reviewing the evidence produced before the committee of the House of Commons, General Burgoyne uses this language:—“And here I shall finally rest the support I have been so anxious to derive from that grave which has been ransacked by my adversaries for evidence against me. As a soldier I avow a pride in having possessed Brigadier Fraser’s esteem. As a defendant I am sensible I have dwelt upon it to a fault. The precedent of a Chief in Command suffering the comments of an inferior to be a test of his actions, requires an apology to my profession. It lies in the eminence of my friend’s character. [‘G. P. 128: L. I. 76. ¹H. V. 13. ²B. H. ³E. Z. ⁴B. N. App. 32. ⁵M. G. 222. ⁶B. M. 184. ⁷D. R. ⁸E. Y. 162. ⁹B. N. 82. 125. ¹⁰M. C. 222. ¹¹B. N. 76. ¹²B. N. 29.]

NO. 10.

BRIG. GEN. HENRY WATSON POWELL.

Henry Watson Powell was commissioned a lieutenant in the 46th Foot March 10, 1753. He was promoted to a captaincy in the 2d Battalion of the 11th Foot Sept. 2, 1756, but upon that battalion's being detached from the 11th and renumbered in 1758, his regimental number became the 64th.¹ He served in the expedition against the French West India Islands² in 1759, and went with his regiment to America in 1768. June 2, 1770, he became the major of the 38th Foot, and July 23, 1771, the lieutenant-colonel of the 53d Foot, which was then stationed at Minorca.³ He accompanied his corps to Canada in the spring of 1776, and on June 10th, of that year, a few days after his arrival, Sir Guy Carleton appointed him a brigadier-general and assigned him to the 2d Brigade, which consisted of the 34th, 53d, and 20th Regiments. When Gen. Gordon's brigade was broken up after the death of that officer, Aug. 21st, 1776, the 62d was added to Powell's brigade, and in November of that year, upon Gen. Nesbit's death, Gen. Powell was transferred to the command of the 1st Brigade, consisting of the 9th, 47th, 31st, and 21st Regiments, save that the 53d was substituted for the 21st.⁴ Gen. Powell served under Gen. Carleton in 1776, and the next year he accompanied Burgoyne. In organizing the troops for Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, Gen. Powell was assigned to the 2d Brigade, consisting of the 20th, 21st, and 62d Regiments. The 62d was left at Ticonderoga, however, with Prince Frederick's (German) Regi-

ment and a portion of Capt. Borthwick's company of the Royal Artillery, July 5th, when the Americans evacuated that fort ; and August 10th, Gen. Powell was sent back to assume command at that post, his regiment, the 53d, being likewise ordered to relieve the 62d. Though he successfully repelled the American Col. Brown's attack on Ticonderoga, and for four days maintained a gallant defence, the Americans retreating Sept. 22d, yet, inasmuch as a considerable part of four companies of the 53d were surprised and captured in the old French lines and at the outposts by the American advance and a number of American prisoners were recaptured, the affair was not one of unmixed satisfaction to either side.⁴

When the toils of adversity began to tighten round Burgoyne in October, Gen. Powell was sorely puzzled as to his duty ; for though he was out of Sir Guy Carleton's military jurisdiction, yet that officer was accessible, while Burgoyne, his own proper commander, was not. The following letter, therefore, written by Sir Guy to Gen. Powell after Burgoyne's surrender, though in ignorance of that event, throws some light upon the awkwardness of Powell's situation. The letter reads as follows —

“ QUEBEC

“ *The 20th October, 1777.*

“ SIR. I have this moment received your letter of the 16th instant wherein you demand orders from me for your guidance in your present emergency. It is impossible that I should give orders to you, not alone because the post you are in has been taken out of my command, but the distance is too great for my being able to judge of the situation of General Burgoyne or of

the exigencies of the place you are at which must depend upon the other, as if you were subject to my commands ignorant as I am of the strength or weakness of your post I should under all the other circumstances think it best for his Majesty's service to suffer you to act by your own judgment, so you will therefore easily see the greater necessity there is as matters are, for my leaving you to pursue such steps as shall be suggested to you by your own prudence and reason. I can only recommend to you not to balance between two opposite measures whereby you may be disabled from following the one or the other with advantage, but that either you prepare with vigour to put the place in such a situation as to be able to make the longest and most resolute defence, or that you prepare in time to abandon it with all the stores while your retreat may be certain. Your own sense will tell you that this latter would be a most pernicious measure if there be still hopes of General Burgoyne coming to your post.

“I am Sir, &c.”⁵

Though Sir Guy did not feel at liberty to issue orders to Gen. Powell, yet he immediately despatched Gen. Maclean with the 31st Regiment, the Royal Highland Emigrants, and a detachment of artillery with four guns, to take post and entrench at Chimney Point, near Crown Point, in order to keep up communication with Ticonderoga. Two or three weeks later Gen. Powell abandoned Ticonderoga and withdrew to Canada. After a short tarry at St. John's, he was posted at Montreal where he commanded during the winter of 1777-8.⁶ Then he was stationed at St. John's, and a letter of his, written there Sept. 22. 1780, to Col. Van Schaick, is to be found in

Stone's Life of Brant, vol. 2, page 130. In the autumn of 1780, after Lieut.-Colonel Bolton's unfortunate loss on Lake Ontario, we find him in command of the upper posts, with his headquarters at Niagara.⁷ By Gen. Haldimand's order of Oct. 21st, 1782, Brig. Gen. Maclean was assigned to the command of the upper posts, and Gen. Powell was appointed commandant of Quebec.⁸ How long he remained at Quebec has not been ascertained, but, in 1780, he bought a fine estate on the St. Louis road, about a mile from Quebec, to which he gave the name of Powell Place, and which he did not dispose of until 1796, when he sold it to Francis Lehoullier. This place was subsequently known as Spencer Wood; but it has since been divided, the larger portion being still known as Spencer Wood and serving as the residence of the lieutenant-governor, while the smaller portion, consisting of about forty acres, and known as Spencer Grange, belongs to, and is the residence of J. M. Le Moine, Esq., President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.⁹

Gen. Powell became a colonel in the army Feb. 19, 1779; a major-general Nov. 20, 1782; the colonel of the 69th Foot April 16, 1792; the colonel of the 15th Foot June 20th, 1794, [not April 20th, as printed in Burgoyne's Orderly Book]; a lieutenant-general May 3, 1796; and a general Jan. 1, 1801. He died at an advanced age at Lyme, England, July 14, 1814.¹⁰ [B. H. *B. M. 10. *E. Z: F. E. 7, 38, 55. *E. Z. *F. C. 89. *F. C. 91, 98, 130: F. E. 85, 89. *F. K. 494. *F. E. 208. *G. X: G. Y. 76-79. *E. K. 190.]

NO. 11.

BRIG. GEN. JAMES HAMILTON.

There were so many James Hamiltons in the British army that it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the early rank of the officer referred to in the text. There was a Capt. James Hamilton in the 82d Foot, dating from Nov. 13, 1755, with army rank from Oct. 30, 1751. Then there was a Capt. James Hamilton in the 10th Foot, dating from April 27, 1756; and besides these there were two Capts. James Hamilton in the 34th Foot, one dating from Aug. 25, 1756, with army rank from Feb. 28, 1755, and the other from Aug. 30, 1756. The annotator of Burgoyne's Orderly Book supposes the next to the last mentioned officer to have been the lieutenant-colonel of the 21st Foot on Burgoyne's campaign. Presuming that supposition to be well founded, it will be proper to remark that the 34th formed part of the garrison at Fort St. Philip when besieged by the French in June, 1756: it participated in the expedition to St. Malo on the coast of France, in 1758; and in 1760 it served in the expedition against Belleisle, likewise on the coast of France.

Whatever uncertainty there may be about the subordinate rank of the officer referred to in the text, there is none at all about that above the grade of captain. He was appointed major commandant of the 113th, or Royal Highland Volunteers, Oct. 17, 1761, a new organization then just formed; and when it was disbanded at the peace of 1763, he went upon

half-pay. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army May 25, 1772, and he returned to active service, March 11, 1774, as the lieutenant-colonel of the 21st, or Royal North British Fusiliers.

Early in the spring of 1776 he accompanied his regiment to Canada to reinforce Gen. Carleton, and he participated in the operations of that general during that year against the Americans. Sept. 15, 1776, Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton was ordered to assume command of Brig.-Gen. Nesbit's, or the First Brigade, during the sickness of that officer, and upon Gen. Nesbit's death, he was appointed a brigadier by order dated Nov. 5, 1776, and assigned to the Second Brigade, consisting of the 34th, 53d, 62d, and 20th Regiments, save that the 21st was substituted for the 53d. In organizing the troops, in 1777, for Burgoyne's campaign, Gen. Hamilton was assigned to the First Brigade, consisting of the 9th, 47th, and 53d Regiments; but Aug. 10th, the 53d under Gen. Powell, was sent to Ticonderoga to relieve the 62d and Gen. Hamilton, who had been left there since its capture, and the 1st and 2d Brigades were consolidated together, the 47th being detached, six of its battalion companies forming a guard for the batteaux, and the other three battalion companies doing garrison duty on the islands in Lake George, so that Gen. Hamilton's brigade consisted of the 9th, 20th, 21st, and 62d Regiments, with Capt. Jones's brigade of guns. At Freeman's farm, "Brig.-Gen. Hamilton," in the words of Gen. Burgoyne, "was the whole time engaged and acquitted himself with great honor, activity and good conduct." At Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7th, the guard of the camp upon the heights was left to the commands of Brig.-Gens. Hamilton and Specht, so he was not as actively engaged as at Freeman's

Farm. After the exchange of Gen. Phillips, Gen. Hamilton was the commanding officer of the convention troops; and when in July, 1781, those troops were ordered to be removed from Fredericktown, in Maryland, to Yorktown and Lancaster, and the officers to be separated from the soldiers and quartered at East Windsor, Connecticut, Anburey says,—“Brigadier-General Hamilton expressed great displeasure at this separation, which is directly against the terms of the convention; but after Congress have broke the most essential point, it is vain to remonstrate against such proceedings. We are now in their power, and they act with us as best suits their plan. The general gave out in orders, that if it was the desire of the troops, he would protest to Congress against the separation; at the same time adding, he well knew it would be in vain. He strongly recommended the soldiers to behave in every respect the same as if their officers were present, and though separated, they should remember that subordination was due to the non-commissioned officers, who still had authority over them. The general lamented he was unable to furnish supplies of cloathing and other necessities; therefore directed officers who had the payment of companies, to settle the men’s accounts, and give them their balance to provide themselves, which most of them will be enabled to do, as the generality have £20 or £30 to receive.”

Gen. Hamilton was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781, and returned to England. He became a colonel in the army Nov. 17, 1780; a major-general Sept. 28, 1787; the colonel of the 15th Foot Aug. 22, 1792; the colonel of the 21st Foot June 20th, 1794; a lieut.-general Jan. 26, 1797, and a general April 29, 1802. He died at his house at Murdustown, July 27, 1803. In a

notice of his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he is called Gen. James Inglis Hamilton, but in the Army Lists his name is given simply as James Hamilton, and so he signed himself on the Cambridge parole.' [B. H. O. 436 : P. 318, 502 : B. M. 22 : E. C. 791 : K. J. 64 : B. N. App. 49 : F. E. 7, 38, 55.]

NO. 12.

CAPT. BOUCHERVILLE.

Dr. O'Callaghan, in a note to Burgoyne's Orderly Book, following Bibaud's *Le Pantheon Canadien*, seems to think that the Capt. Boucherville engaged in Burgoyne's expedition, was René Antoine de Boucherville, or, as the Abbé Tanguay, and the author of the *Histoire des Grandes Familles Françaises du Canada*, more properly call him, as we think, René Amable de Boucherville. This latter personage was the fourth Seigneur de Boucherville, and was the son of Francois Pierre de Boucherville, third Seigneur de Boucherville, and of Louise Marguerite Raimbault de St. Blain, his wife, and was born at Cadarakui, formerly Fort Frontenac, and now Kingston, in the province of Ontario, Feb. 12, 1735.

The third Seigneur's services during the French regime, were rewarded with the government of Detroit and the cross of the Order of St. Louis ; and he likewise wrote a book entitled *Relation des aventures de M. de Boucherville à son retour des Sioux en 1728 et '29, suivie d'observation sur les moeurs des Sauvages*.

The fourth Seigneur, like his father, married into the family of Raimbault de St. Blain, his wedding with the Mademoiselle Madeleine taking place at Montreal, June 6, 1770; and ten children were the fruit of the union, six of whom died young. He became a member of the Legislative Council of Quebec, and likewise held the office of *Grand Voyer*, or Inspector of Roads. He died at Boucherville, near Montreal, Sept. 2d, 1812, and his widow survived till August 18, 1825, when she died, aged 72. One of his sisters was the last wife of La Corne St. Luc.

Bibaud says the fourth Seigneur signalized himself in the first American war (the Revolution). The author of the *Histoire des Grandes Familles Françaises du Canada* states that he quitted his hearth-stone to march to the frontier, and thus had the honor of contributing to a victory which should have sealed the union of the Canadians and the English; and Dr. O'Callaghan writes that he distinguished himself at the siege of St. John's. The proof of the Seigneur de Boucherville's part in our struggle for independence seems to us by no means clear. It is certain that a Canadian officer named Boucherville was taken prisoner at St. John's, as an enclosure in a letter from Gen. Carleton (to Lord George Germaine probably), dated Nov. 5, 1775, a copy of which is in the possession of the Abbé Verreau, of Montreal, gives a list of Canadian officers and gentlemen taken prisoners at St. John's, and in it is the name of an officer named Boucherville. The Bouchervilles were very numerous in Canada, and if the Seigneur de Boucherville engaged in the war, then there was more than one captain of that name that participated in it, as Lorimier, in the memoir of his service during the American war, in referring to the affair at the Cedars, speaks of *un Capt. des*

Milices, Pitre de Boucherville. Whatever the name of the Captain Boucherville that accompanied Burgoyne, may have been, his company was from the district of Quebec; and May 19th, 1777, it was ordered to march with all possible expedition to Montreal, there to receive further orders as to its participation in Burgoyne's campaign; while the following extract from a letter written by Sir Guy Carleton to Major-Gen. Phillips from Quebec, Nov. 20, 1776, affords some insight into its term of service and standard of discipline. "If Mr. Monin," says the letter, "can raise a compleat company for the ensuing campaign I shall approve of its being employed, and if Mr. McKay and Mr. Boucherville can do the same it will be agreeable to me, and you may give such directions for the forwarding of them as you shall think necessary, but it must be explained to the men that they are engaged for a whole year, and longer if Exigency require it, and that they must be subject to order and discipline in like manner as the Regular Troops." [B. M: F. T. 307-312: A. X. 38-40: L. O: H. S. 251, 281, 285: F. B. 270, 271. 473, 498.]

NO. 13.

CAPT. ALEXANDER FRASER.

It is said that Alexander Fraser was a nephew of Brig.-Gen. Simon Fraser, who was killed at Bemus' Heights, Oct. 7, 1777. He was commissioned as a lieutenant in the 9th Foot, Oct. 25, 1766. He then appeared in the 9th Foot for the

first time, but it is impossible to state when he entered the British army, owing to the numerous bearers of his name on the Army Lists at that period, there being on the half-pay of the 78th, or Fraser's Highlanders, three lieutenants and two ensigns, named Alexander Fraser, one of whom was, doubtless, the subject of this sketch. The Army Lists inform us that he was promoted to be capt.-lieutenant of the 9th, May 13, 1776¹, but he was gazetted as capt.-lieutenant of the 20th², and the orders printed hereafter, likewise indicate his transfer to that regiment. He was transferred to the 34th Foot Nov. 11, 1776. He was detached from his regimental organization in 1776 and 1777, and served with the Indians, having been appointed Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada.³

In 1776 a company of sharpshooters was raised for Capt. Fraser, which figured prominently the next year on Burgoyne's campaign. In speaking of the battle of Bennington, Gen. Burgoyne thus wrote:—"The number of the British was small; but it was the select light corps of the army, composed of chosen men from all the regiments, and commanded by Capt. Fraser, one of the most distinguished officers in his line of service that ever I met with."⁴ The order organizing this company was as follows:

"CHAMBLY, 6th Sept., 1776.

"The regiments which compose the Brigades of Brig. Gen. Nesbit and Powel are each to select one Sergeant one Corporal and eight private men. The non comm'd officers to be intelligent men. The privates to be taken one man from each company. The commanding officers are to take care that the capts. give a man of good character, sober, active,

robust, healthy. The men are to be provided with a very good Firelock and to be in every Respect proper to Form a Body of Marksmen to be attached to Brig. Gen'l Fraser's Corps under the command of Capt. Fraser of the 20th Reg't and such Subalterns as the Brigadier General shall appoint from his corps.

"Each reg't to furnish one Tent for the non commissioned officers, and two for the private men, with proper camp necessities.

"An officer from Captain Fraser will go round the Regiments to receive these different Detachments who are to be furnished with Provisions for two Days from their Respective Regiments."

May 13th, 1777, Sir Guy Carleton ordered Capt. Fraser to report to Gen. Burgoyne "in order to receive his commands relative to the assembling the Indians, and such other directions as he shall think proper to give you in regard to that department."⁶ Anburey, in his Travels, gives us this glimpse of Capt. Fraser and some of his Indian subordinates. Writing from Montreal under date of May 26, 1777, Anburey says—"A few days since I was invited to dine with Captain Frazer, who is superintendent over the Indians, and who gave us a dinner entirely of wild-meats. Most of the dishes were only to set off the table, there being such things there as very few of the company could partake of. * * Just as the cloth was removed, there came into the room a great number of Indians, (and amongst them one very old) who not having much ceremony, and seeing the bottles and glasses on the table, would drink with us, and began to be extremely troublesome, when Capt.

Frazer interfered, and to shew you the controul he has over them, the instant he spoke, they quitted the room, but not without a present, for I did not understand the Indian language, but as I thought, and as he afterwards told us he was obliged to order his servant to give them a bottle of rum. * * We had scarcely drank five glasses, after Captain Frazer had finished his narration, when the Indians returned, upon a pretence of business to him, which was no other than that of procuring more rum, which Captain Frazer refusing them, they grew extremely troublesome, and what, with the liquor they had already drank, were much beyond any controul, for they paid no attention to Captain Frazer, who, finding he could not pacify, or any way get rid of them, made us an apology, and the company broke up."

Capt. Fraser served throughout Burgoyne's campaign, but, doubtless, returned to Canada, just on the eve of Burgoyne's surrender, with the Provincial and Canadian corps, as he served in Canada during the remainder of the Revolutionary war, and mention of him as Judge Advocate of Courts Martial there, has more than once been found.⁷

He became a major in the army Nov. 18, 1790, and a lieutenant-colonel March 1, 1794. He was appointed the lieutenant-colonel of the 45th Foot Sept. 1, 1795, and he appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1797.¹ [¹B. H. *M. G. 165. ²F. B. 278: F. C. 133. ³B. N. 13. ⁴F. E. 40. ⁵F. B. 482. ⁶F. E. 39, 100.]

NO. 14.

LIEUT. COLONEL JOHN PETERS,

QUEEN'S LOYAL RANGERS.

John Peters was born at Hebron, Connecticut, in 1740^o, and was the son of John Peters, "who was an inveterate Republican and a confirmed Rebel,"—in the words of the Rev. Samuel Peters, the author of the History of Connecticut, and a brother of the elder Peters, and hence an uncle of the subject of this sketch. John Peters, referred to in the text, was a cousin, likewise, of the John S. Peters who was governor of Connecticut. He graduated at Yale College in the class of 1759, became a lawyer, and, in 1766, removed with his family from Hebron to Gloucester County, New York, or the Hampshire Grants, afterwards a part of Vermont, where he erected some mills and cultivated his lands. He held various civil offices at his new place of abode.¹ He was commissioned a justice of the peace March 16, 1770, and county clerk, and clerk of the Court of Common Pleas on the next day. March 5, 1772, he was re-commissioned as county clerk, and April 10, 1772, he became one of the assistant justices of the Inferior court of Common Pleas.² On the 28th of the same month of April he became the colonel of a regiment of militia, and Oct. 26, 1774³, he was re-commissioned as a justice of the peace and was also appointed a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas.³ In 1774 he represented Gloucester County as a member of the provincial congress, but he never believed in independence, and while on his way to congress he

told his uncle, Samuel Peters, "that Independence was the view of many people, especially of the Dissenting Ministers and Smuggling Merchants; but if he should find the Congress inclined that way he would leave them and return home;" and he subsequently wrote his uncle from Philadelphia, "that Independence was the sole aim of Congress, and to cover their design had enjoined an oath of secrecy upon each member, which he had refused and was then about to return home." In a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury he wrote of this period as follows—"that in the year 1772 (he) was appoint'd by the Governor of New York, Colonel of the Militia, a Judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, Surrogate and Register of the County of Gloucester, in the Province of New York, in which offices he continued to serve his Majesty till 1776, when after being often Mobbed and once imprisoned by the Malcontents he quitted his Family, Property, and Offices and fled to Canada to avoid Personal Danger and to Support the British Cause against its Enemies."

He was in Canada as early as June 30, 1776, as shown by the following letter from one of Sir Guy Carleton's staff to Major French:—

CHAMBLY, 30th June, 1776.

"SIR: This will be delivered to you by a Mr. John Peters and a Joseph Skinner, who have just left the Rebels, the first having been among them some time, as he says, only to seek an opportunity of escaping into a place of safety, from the persecution of the Emissaries of the Congress, as he is at this time a Colonel of Militia in the province of New York and a friend of government, and he has never held any Commission

or employment under the Rebels; he says he is acquainted with a Mr. Finlay, a Mr. Hay, Merchants at Montreal, and Mr. Ferries, an Innkeeper, and President of the seminary, people who all know the truth of his assertions: The General has therefore allowed the said Peters and Skinner, who has been a Surgeon's mate amongst the Rebels, but had served against his inclination, to go to Montreal, and have it in command to acquaint you that they may reside there, at Liberty, provided their behaviour is conformable to their professions, and that upon inquiry you find the gentlemen whom Peters names, confirm the story in any degree."³

Peters himself says that he went as a volunteer with Gen. Carleton on Lake Champlain in the autumn of 1776.' In 1777 he was promised a lieutenant-colonel's commission when he should have raised two-thirds of a battalion⁴, and under such promise he assumed command of a skeleton battalion called the Queen's Loyal Rangers, in the hope of recruiting it sufficiently to entitle him to demand the redemption of the promise. Instead of strengthening his corps by the accession of loyalists at Bennington where he was sent with Baum, it was very badly cut up and depleted there. A monthly return of the Queen's Loyal Rangers commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Peters, Zadock Wright, Major, Justus Sherwood, Jeremiah French, David McFall, captains,—made Aug. 7, 1777, shows 262 men. After this return Simeon Covil, Andrew Palmitier, Francis Hogeland and James Pennock, captains, with above 190 men, many of whom, however, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Peters, were not mustered for lack of time, joined the regiment and were in the battle of Bennington. After the battle the monthly return of Oct. 2d,

1777, was 154 remaining of the 452; consequently 298 men were killed, wounded and made prisoners, or deserted. Gen. Burgoyne thanked Peters for his bravery and good conduct on his return to Saratoga, and he served throughout the campaign, taking part in its various actions; and, according to Burgoyne, he "behaved with great spirit and zeal upon all occasions." On the night before the Saratoga Convention was signed, Peters and the other Provincial officers, who were serving without commissions, were granted permission to withdraw from Burgoyne's army and attempt, if possible, their escape into Canada, which was accomplished in safety.

Lieutenant-Colonel Peters, in his memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, which has before been referred to, proceeds in this wise:—"Your Memorialist on his return to Canada, from the disastrous events at Bennington and Saratoga, was allowed nine Shillings per diem on the Subsistence List by Sir Guy Carleton, till an Official return should be made by General Burgoyne, and the said Subsistence Money since continued was to be considered as part pay on the Commission of Lieut. Colonel of the Queen's Loyal Rangers.

"Your Memorialist at a Board of Commissioners appointed by Gen. Haldimand in 1780, was allowed his Pay as Lieut.-Col^l. Commandant of the Queen's Loyal Rangers, to October 24th, 1777, except Bât and forrage, and Warrant Money, which was not allowed by the Commissioners in Consequence of Gen. Haldimand's instructions, although General Burgoyne (in General Orders) had promised the same pay to the Loyal Provincials as the King's Troops received.

"Your Memorialist continued to serve and Inlist Men as Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the Queen's Loyal Rangers, from his first appointment in 1777 till November 12th, 1778, when General Haldimand was pleased (in General Orders) to appoint Lieut. Colonel John Peters (of the Queen's Loyal Rangers) 'as Capt. of Invalids,' and since that time Gen. Haldimand as your Memorialist is informed has returned 'Lieutenant Col^o. John Peters' for reasons unknown to your Memorialist to the Secretary of States Office as Capt. in Major Edward Jessup's Corps, and not as Lieu^t. Colonel of the Queen's Loyal Rangers.

"Your Memorialist therefore prays your Lordship to take his Case into consideration, and to give him that Justice which his Services and Commission as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Queen's Loyal Rangers meritt—humbly conceiving that the Justice of the British Nation will place him on the List of half-Pay as Lieu^t. Colonel and not as Captain only in Major Edward Jessups Corps, and that if his Excellency General Haldimand had meant in his Return to degrade your Memorialist, his Excellency would first have taken care by a Court-martial to have had him Cashiered."

By an "Abstract of Sub^{ee} claimed by the several Corps of Loyalists for the Campaign 1777 under Lieut. Gen^l Burgoyne and likewise private claims for provⁿ furnished to his army as adjudged by a Board of Officers assembled at St. John's in February 1781," £664.11.5 $\frac{3}{4}$ was allotted "To John Peters, Esq., Sub^{ee} for the Corps under his Command per acc^t." By a warrant, evidently ante-dated Quebec, July 19, 1779, issued by order of Gen. Haldimand for the payment of

£1634.8.10, "being the allowance made for the present relief of several Corps of Royalists belonging to Gen. Burgoyne's Army, and sundry other persons who have taken refuge in this province from the Rebellious Colonies between the 25th June and 24th August 1779, inc.," £299.7.8, was paid to "Mr. Peters' Party," consisting of 61 men; and of this amount £30 each, was paid to John Peters, Zadock Wright, Justus Sherwood and Francis Hogal.⁶

Gen. Haldimand, clearly, did not have a high opinion of Peters' military talents, as he wrote to Lord George Germaine from Quebec, 13th Sept., 1779, as follows: "The case of Colonel Peters shall also be inquired into. I believe him an honest man, and a good subject, but he was not reported to me, nor have I found him the able Partizan he is represented to your Lordship." This opinion may account for Haldimand's appointing Major Edward Jessup to the command, when, in the latter part of 1781, he formed a new corps out of former loyalists corps in Canada, an act of which Lt.-Col. Peters, as we have seen, strongly complained. In the list of the officers of that corps, with the dates of their commissions, under the head of "Invalids," appears the name of "Lieut.-Col. John Peters as Captain 18th Nov., 1781."⁸

Hard, indeed, was the lot of the loyalists in the Revolution after the war was over, and Lieut.-Colonel Peters' experience is a fair illustration of the treatment they received. His property in Gloucester County was confiscated by the Americans, as he was included in the New York Bill of Attainder. Unable to obtain even the pay due him for his military services, much less his promised commission from the English officials, through

an agent in London, Lieut.-Colonel Peters left his family at Cape Breton, where he had settled after the war, and went himself to England in 1785, but met with no better success. He remained there about three years vainly urging his claims for compensation for the losses of his estate before the "Commissioners of American Claims," and for his seven years back pay as lieutenant-colonel of the Loyal Rangers. Burgoyne never having given the Provincial officers their commissions, the pay office declined to pay till the commissions were produced; thus the unfortunate men were defrauded. He never returned to America, but died at Paddington, London, of gout in the head and stomach, while still pressing his claim. He left a wife and eight children.⁹ [¹G. R. 686-692. ²F. N. App. 769. ³F. B. 47. ⁴B. N. 102, App. 20. ⁵F. G. 94. ⁶F. F. 150-154. ⁷F. H. 134. ⁸F. E. 181. ⁹K. V. V., 183.]

NO. 15.

HUBBARDTON AND COL. HALE.

The seventy Americans captured by the stratagem of the British officer with fifteen men, can, we think, refer only to Col. Nathan Hale and a part of the Second New Hampshire Regiment; for no considerable number of the Americans surrendered in a body on the retreat from Hubbardton, other than he and a portion of his battalion.

Col. Nathan Hale, the youngest son of Moses Hale, by his wife, Elizabeth Wheeler, was born in Hampstead, N. H.,

S:pt. 23, 1743; removed with his father to Rindge about 1760; married Abigail, daughter of Col. John and Joanna [Boynton] Grout, of Lunenburg, Mass., Jan. 28, 1766; was the first constable of Rindge at its organization in 1768; was moderator of the annual town meetings in 1773, 1774 and 1775; was captain of a company of minute men in 1774; marched his company to Cambridge on the alarm of the battle of Lexington in April, 1775; was commissioned major of the 3d New Hampshire Regiment June 2, 1775, lieut.-colonel of the 2d New Hampshire Nov. 8, 1776, and colonel April 2, 1777. He was at Bunker Hill in 1775, and served under Washington, in 1776, in New York and New Jersey. He was with St. Clair, in 1777, at Ticonderoga until its evacuation, and he was taken prisoner at Hubbardton.'

Col. Hale was a most unfortunate officer, as his conduct in two actions was questioned. In the first he was fully vindicated; but he died under a cloud, a prisoner, after having been arrested for treason, and without having been brought to trial,—no opportunity having been afforded him to clear himself of the charges against him. March 29th, 1777, the New Hampshire legislature raised a committee "to make Enquiry into the character of Colonel Nathan Hale as to his behaviour in the late action at Trenton, and to report thereon." The journal of the New Hampshire House of Representatives for Tuesday, April 1st, 1777, contains this record: "The Com'tee appointed to make enquiry into the character of Col^l. Nathan Hale as to his behaviour in the late action at Trentown (Princetown) and elsewhere made report:

"That nothing appears to your Com'tee against the char-

acter of the said Col^o. Hale as an officer in the engagement at Trentown or elsewhere.

“ Signed

“ N. GILMAN, Ch^{rs}.

“ Which report being read, Voted That the same be not received, but that it be Dismist.”

The next day, April 2d, 1777, the legislature, “ Voted, That Col^o. Nathan Hale be & hereby is appointed Colonel of the Continental Battalion lately commanded by Col^o. Enoch Poor, who is advanced.”

Hadden's version confirms Ethan Allen's statement, that Hale surrendered to “an inconsiderable number of the enemy”; for Allen, in writing of the affair at Hubbardton, says: —“It was by this time dangerous for those of both parties who were not prepared for the world to come; but Col. Hale being apprised of the danger, never brought his regiment to the charge, but left Warner and Francis to stand the blowing of it, and fled, but luckily fell in with an inconsiderable number of the enemy, and to his eternal shame, surrendered himself a prisoner.” A letter, evidently written by a member of Col. Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment (which was on the retreat from Ticonderoga, but not in the engagement at Hubbardton), dated Moses' Creek, July 17th, 1777, and indorsed, “Letter from Cogan to Gen'l John Stark,” &c., to be found in vol. 8, of the New Hampshire State Papers, page 640, gives a very graphic account of the disorder and confusion attending the retreat from Ticonderoga. Although his regiment was not in the action, Cogan writes as if he had been; and undoubtedly many,

who had straggled from their regiments, were with the rear-guard. The letter is as follows :—

“ MOSES CREEK, *July 17, 1777.*

“ DEAR COLONEL.

“ Our situation puts me in mind of what I have heard you often say of Ticonderoga. Such a Retreat was never heard of since the Creation of the world. I was ordered about five of the Clock in the afternoon to draw forty-eight Rounds pr man : afterwards, nine days allowance of provision which I compleated about 2 of the clock in the morning, and about the time I got home the Tents were struck, and all was ordered to retreat ; but it was day light before we got below your old house ; such order surprised both officers & soldiers ; then they wished for General Sullivan to the Northern army again ; they left all the Continental cloathing there ; in short every article that belonged to the army ; which if properly conducted might be easily saved. Surely we were fifty thousand times better off than General Sullivan was in Canada last year ; our men was in high spirits, and determined to a man to stick by the lines till they lost their lives, rather than quit so advantageous a Post ; Drove us a long two or three & thirty miles that day, till the Rear Guard got to Bowman's Camp ; the men being so fatigued were obliged to stay, and were attacked in the morning by the Regulars, who travell'd all Night, and just got up by the time we were beginning to march in a disorderly manner ; our men being in confusion, and made no great of a Battle. But some behaved & some did not. Col^o. Reed acted his part very well. Col^o. Hale they said did not. Col^o. Hale is either kill'd or taken. Little Dwyer behaved like a lusty fellow &

died in the Bed of Honour ; as nearly as I could conjecture, we had odds of a thousand that attacked them ; our main body was within six miles of us, the Indians took & killed a vast number of our men on their Retreats ; then was hurried at an unmerciful rate thro' the woods at the rate of thirty-five miles a day, oblidg'd to kill oxen belonging to the Inhabitants wherever we got them ; before they were half-skinned every soldier was obliged to take a bit & half Roast it over the fire, then before half done was obliged to March,—it is thought we went 100 miles for fear of seeing a Regular (I mean out of the way) there never was a field officer consulted, whether we should retreat or not, which makes them very uneasy ; so that the blame of our Retreat must fall on our Commanders ; never was soldiers in such a condition without cloaths, victuals or drink & constantly wet. Caleb* and I are just as our mothers bore us without the second shirt, the second pair of shoes, stockings or coats,—but however its all in the Continental.† Caleb does vastly better than he ever did with you. Col^o. Cilley is very fond of us. Indeed, I suppose we are pretty diligent for the most part. Give my compliments to Peggy, Arch & Jenny & Martha.

“I am Respects Yours, &c.,

“N. B. The officers lost their Baggage, writings & all. The Rear Guard were mostly Invalids, and our Gen^l took away the main Body, and even refused to send assistance when the Cols. begged him to do it.”

“Indorsed—‘Letter f om Cogan to Gen^l John Stark,’ &c.”

* “Caleb was the eldest son of Gen. John Stark.—*Ed.*

† “This word is mutilated.

Gen. Stark in writing to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety from Charlestown, No. 4, July 30th, 1777, thus refers to the preceding letter: "As you informed me when I saw you last, that you had not received any account from any Gentleman in the army since the desertion of Ticonderoga, I likewise inclose you a Copy of a letter I received from Mr. Coggan and by the best information is as near the truth as any you may receive. I have shewed it to Col^o. Bellows and a number of other officers that was present, and they say they could all sign it."⁴

Col. Hale left Ticonderoga for his home in Rindge, July 20, 1777, on a limited parole, not to serve again until exchanged. A letter from Gen. Lincoln, dated Bennington, Aug. 25, 1777, to the "Council of New Hampshire" contains these sentences: "On the 24th I received an order from Gen. Gates in the words following: 'Gen. Gates desires Gen. Lincoln will send a letter to the State of New Hampshire to have Colonel Hale immediately apprehended, and brought prisoner to Albany, to answer an accusation of high treason exhibited against him.' I must, Gentlemen, intreat your aid in this matter and that Colonel Hale may be sent to Albany agreeable to the above request." In compliance with this request the Committee of Safety ordered the arrest of Col. Hale, Sept. 4th.⁵ No trial or examination seems to have been had, so far as we can ascertain, and Col. Hale remained at Rindge till June 14, 1779, when, not having been exchanged, he returned within the enemy's lines, pursuant to his parole; and he remained a prisoner till his death at New Utrecht, Long Island, Sept. 23, 1780.¹

If Col. Hale was arrested for his conduct at Hubbardton, the charge of cowardice, rather than treason, would seem to have

been the most proper one. The preceding is all we have been able to find derogatory to Col. Hale, except the mere repetition of later writers ; and an unfortunate uncertainty hangs over him.

Col. Hale has zealous defenders in Mr. Ezra S. Stearns, in his *History of Rindge, N. H.*, pages 148 to 155, and in the Hon. Winslow C. Watson, in his *History of Essex County, N. Y.*, pages 183 to 185, and also in an article in *The American Historical Record* for 1873, pages 455 to 460. We should infer that neither of these gentlemen had seen the papers printed in vol. 8, of the *New Hampshire State Papers*, as neither refer to Cogan's, or Coggan's, letter, reinforced by the one from Stark, or to the fact that Col. Hale was ordered under arrest by Gen. Gates ; both treating Ethan Allen's charge against Hale as the only tangible one to their knowledge.

Mr. Watson has neglected to give his authority for the statement that Col. Hale, on his retreat, "was intercepted by a British column ;" and we have been able to find none for it. If we understand the testimony of the Earl of Balcarres, and of the Earl of Harrington, then Lord Petersham⁶, both British participants in the battle, there was no pursuit beyond Hubbardton. According to Ambury, there could have been no pursuit after the battle, at least by anything worthy the name of a column ; and he, at that time, was serving as a volunteer in Lord Petersham's company—the grenadiers of the 29th. This author speaks of the grenadiers pursuing into the woods a party of Americans that had fired upon them, and to whom they gave no quarter ; but this was a part of the battle, more or less of which took place in the woods ; and he says, alluding to the

Americans, "even after the action was over, there were lurking parties hovering about the woods." Anburey further says: "When General Fraser had posted the corps in an advantageous state of defence, and made some log works, as he expected we should be attacked, his next thoughts were, how to refresh the men after the fatigues of the day, provisions being unable to be forwarded, on account of the country's being very hilly; a detachment was sent to shoot some bullocks that were running in the woods, these were distributed in ratios to the men, which they eat, dressed upon wood ashes, without either bread or salt." Gen. Fraser's expectation of being attacked seems to have been one reason why no pursuit was made; and the fatigue of his men, who were without provisions, was undoubtedly another. The cattle party, or a portion of it, referred to in the above extract, was, doubtless, the very one that Hadden speaks of as capturing Hale. We think it is clear from Anburey, and indeed from the necessities of the case, that the cattle party was sent out very soon after the engagement; but whether it was or not, may not be important, as we do not know when Hale was captured, or how soon the fatigue of his men lulled them into a sufficient sense of security to allow them to lag upon the road, or to halt to rest.

In weighing the evidence upon this matter of Col. Hale's conduct at Hubbardton, too much stress must not be laid upon the mere fact of personal presence or absence of the writers at or from the battlefield; for of those present in the action but very few, comparatively, could speak of their own personal knowledge any more positively than if they had been a hundred miles away. Whoever has been in action knows, from experience, how very limited, at best, is the range of one's observation; and

when coupled with the utter occupation of mind and thought with what is passing close at hand, even that narrow possible range of vision becomes contracted indeed. Contemporaries enjoying opportunities of converse with those present who saw whereof they affirmed, are far more full and valuable upon a given point, than those who, though present, attempt to describe of their own knowledge what they did not see, for they had no personal knowledge ; and, if these latter describe at all, they must necessarily relate from hearsay, and hence, are on no better footing than persons not present, who enjoyed opportunities of gleaning from those who were both present and happened to see the particular point in hand. The two British officers, Hadden and Anburey, furnish good illustrations of this. Hadden was an artillery officer, and, there being no artillery at Hubbardton, of course was not present in that engagement, though he had ample opportunities of conversing with the British officers of Fraser's Brigade, when it rejoined the main army. Anburey, as we have seen, was a volunteer in the grenadiers of the 29th Foot, which took an active part in the action at Hubbardton. Hadden tells us that a British officer with fifteen men, by a ruse, captured seventy rebels, as he terms the Americans ; and this is in accord with Ethan Allen's statement. Anburey says, vol. 1, p. 335 : " After the action was over, a Colonel with the remains of his regiment, to the amount of 230, came and surrendered himself prisoners." These are the only two accounts of just how Hale was captured, that have come down to us ; and there can be no question that the version of the relator not in the action, is more reliable than that of the one that was there present. No other author than Anburey, puts the number of prisoners taken with Hale at more

than 100. Burgoyne says the whole number of prisoners captured at Hubbardton was only 210; and Capt. Enos Stone of Col. Francis' regiment, the 11th Massachusetts, who was himself a prisoner, gives it at 219⁸; and we know there were many captured from other regiments than Hale's. If Hale voluntarily sought the British and surrendered himself and the remnant of his command, as Anburey would lead us to infer, then it is no wonder that he was ordered to be arrested for treason. No one besides Anburey, that we can discover, however, imputes any such conduct to Hale; and though this writer was present in the action and is reliable on many points, his statement in regard to Hale is not from the probabilities of the case, coupled with what facts are fully established, nearly as worthy of credit as are the statements of Hadden and Allen.

We believe that Hadden's version of the manner of Hale's capture, corroborated as it is, in a measure, by Ethan Allen, an American contemporary, is practically correct; but, while it is clear that Hale won no laurels at Hubbardton, yet, whether he is justly open to Allen's fierce denunciation on account of his capture, admits of very great doubt. Ethan Allen was constitutionally rash—indeed, utterly reckless—and his prejudices would be roused against, and his charity entirely withheld from, the victim of such a ruse as was practised upon Hale; so that no combination of adverse circumstances would serve in his mind to extenuate Hale, or to soften his judgment. This trait in Allen's character operated most injuriously against the American cause in Canada, and resulted in his own capture with a handful of men, before Montreal, in 1775. This dangerous characteristic was well known to the men who knew Allen best, for "the Committee of the several townships on

the west side of the range of Green Mountains," when assembled at Dorset in July, 1775, declined to nominate him to command the regiment of Green Mountain Boys; the vote standing 41 for Seth Warner, to 5 for Allen, though the latter's zeal and activity in raising the corps had entitled him to believe that he would be selected for the first position, and Warner for the second, instead of being ignored entirely.⁹ Gen. Schuyler, in writing to the president of Congress from Ticonderoga, Oct. 5, 1775, after Allen's fiasco before Montreal, gives this unflattering estimate of Allen: "I am very apprehensive of disagreeable consequences arising from Mr. Allen's imprudence. I always dreaded his impatience of subordination; and it was not until after a solemn promise, made in the presence of several officers, that he would demean himself properly, that I would permit him to attend the Army; nor would I have consented then, had not his solicitations been backed by several officers."¹⁰

An unfortunate uncertainty exists as to the exact part Hale acted at Hubbardton. Cogan's allusion in his letter, to Hale's conduct, is too general to be very strong or authoritative; and it is by no means clear that the officers, whom Stark says confirmed his statements, meant to refer at all to the single hearsay remark about Hale, but only to the general disorder, confusion and hardship of the retreat from Ticonderoga, which made up the substance of the letter. Had the charge of treason, upon a sober consideration, had any foundation, even in cowardice, some light, certainly, it would seem, would have been afforded us by a trial or examination; but only a dead blank greets us. Had Hale behaved unquestionably bad, as Allen asserts, surely the evidence could not have been suppressed to posterity; and yet, where one would expect a flood of light, only an uncer-

tain glimmer is given us. It is as confusing as it is surprising, that where a question was raised, or could have been raised, in regard to the conduct of one of the only three colonels at Hubbardton, so little authentic information in regard to it is to be found. The newspapers of the day",—Warner, the immediate commander at Hubbardton",—St. Clair, who commanded all the retreating troops from Ticonderoga,—the only three American participants in the action leaving journals or diaries that have come down to us—all preserve an utter silence as to any misbehaviour on the part of Hale; while some of them reflect upon others they deemed blameable. The *Continental Journal* for July 24, 1777, and the *Boston Gazette* for July 28, 1777, contain the following extract in regard to Hubbardton, from a letter from Albany dated July 14, 1777, viz :—"Never did nor can troops behave better than ours on this occasion. We however lost some brave officers, among whom is Col. Francis from Massachusetts. This gentleman behaved like a hero; and so did the rest of the officers in general." Gen. Schuyler wrote to Col. Warner from Fort Edward, July 15th, 1777, as follows—"I am favored with yours of yesterday. * * Thank the troops in my name for behaving so well as you say they did at Hubbard Town." * Warner certainly must have known whether Hale and his regiment behaved well or ill; and

a. Capt. Moses Greenleaf of Col. Ebenezer Francis' regiment, the 11th Massachusetts, says that on July 6th, 1777, that being the day after the night Ticonderoga was evacuated, "our Brigade March'd in the rear this day." According to Gen. St. Clair's order of June 13, 1777, brigading the troops, Hale was in Brig. Gen. DeRoche Fermoy's brigade; and Warner's, Brewer's

and Francis' regiments were in Brig. Gen. Patterson's brigade. How it happened that Hale's regiment took the place of Brewer's, and why Gen. Patterson was not in command of his brigade that day, especially when it was performing so important a duty as covering a retreat, we have not been able to ascertain. [E. X: H. D.]

had either behaved badly, truth would not have permitted him to make such a report to his superior officer as would have elicited the above reply from Schuyler.

Again, if Hale misbehaved as grossly as Allen asserts, it is truly extraordinary that we have been informed of the unusual display of emotion on the part of Warner when Francis' regiment broke, but that no expression of disappointment or disapproval has come down to us when Hale retired; for it must be remembered that all three of the American regiments were, sooner or later, forced to retire; Warner's being the last. Chipman, who knew Warner personally, says: "Warner was distinguished for his cool courage, and perfect self possession, on all occasions. But in one instance, was he ever known to be agitated for a moment, or deprived of self possession, by any disastrous occurrence, however sudden and unexpected. In the battle at Hubbardton, Francis' regiment gave way, owing, as it afterwards appeared, to the loss of their Colonel. Warner had repulsed the enemy, who had rallied and renewed the charge, but were again brought to a stand by a deadly fire from his Green Mountain Boys. At this anxious and exciting moment, Warner saw Francis' regiment retreating and the battle lost. This was too much even for the nerve of Warner. He dropped down upon a log by which he stood and poured out a torrent of execrations upon the flying troops; but he instantly rose, and in a most collected manner, ordered his regiment to Manchester."¹³

Another strange circumstance connected with this affair, if Hale justly deserves Allen's censure, is that Gen. St. Clair who commanded at Ticonderoga, and therefore was in the

general command of all the troops on the retreat, criticises Warner, first, for halting at Hubbardton over night, and secondly, having halted there, for not resuming his march earlier the next morning. He also reflects severely upon Colonels Bellows and Alcott for not obeying his orders to reinforce Col. Warner.⁴⁴ Nowhere, however, does St. Clair throw out so much as an insinuation against Col. Hale; but, on the contrary, he indulges in a general praise of the troops at Hubbardton that would include Hale and his regiment. In writing to Gen. Schuyler, July 8th, St. Clair says of those troops,—“they made a very obstinate defence, and I have good reason to think, killed and wounded a great number of the enemy.” Again he says of them, in a letter to Gov. Bowdoin, dated July 9th,—“they defended themselves very well, and though obliged to retreat, killed and wounded a great many of the enemy.” Finally, in writing to Washington July 17th, he says,—“they sustained the attack with great bravery, but were finally obliged to give way.”⁴⁵

Neither Capt. Moses Greenleaf, nor Capt. Enos Stone, both of Col. Francis' regiment, the latter of whom was taken prisoner at Hubbardton, nor Ebenezer Fletcher, a fifer in Capt. Carr's company in Col. Hale's regiment, who was also taken prisoner there, make any disparaging allusion to Col. Hale in their several journals or diaries. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, who lived during the Revolution, and in his own words [vol. 2, page 332, note] had “an intimate acquaintance with many persons, of all ranks, who were instrumental of conducting the American revolution, through all its stages,” and was favored with “a perusal of many of their confidential letters” [vol. 2, page 411], must have known the

truth, whatever it was, about so prominent a person as the colonel of one of the Continental battalions from New Hampshire, and though he speaks of Hubbardton and Hale's capture, yet he writes nothing about any misconduct.

Stearns, in his *History of Rindge*, page 150, in writing of Col. Hale, says with much force,—“ While visiting his family on parole he was received with kindness and honor by his neighbours and acquaintances. He was not only a participant in the town-meetings held during the continuance of his parole, but on two occasions he was appointed on important committees. Without the concurring testimony of tradition, this fact is convincing evidence that his townsmen saw nothing in his conduct to question or condemn. It is not to be presumed that in a town-meeting they would have recognized with favor any citizen who had been guilty of unbecoming conduct in presence of the enemy, except through ignorance, and this they could not plead, since Lieut. James Crumbie, an officer in Hale's regiment, and present at the battle of Hubbardston, had been at home several months before these meetings were held; and many others had returned from a service in which they were associated with the men in Hale's battalion, and could not have failed in a knowledge of his misconduct, if such had been current in the regiment.” Stearns likewise says on page 154,—“ As soon as Col. Hale was apprized of these charges, he firmly invited the most rigid examination of his conduct, and made an instant appeal to General Washington for an exchange and an opportunity of vindicating his character before a court martial, affirming in the language of presumptive innocence, his ability to successfully defend himself against any charges that could be made against him. His early death

arrested all proceedings in answer to his appeal. It should not be forgotten that, dying within the enemy's lines, he never had an opportunity of vindicating his conduct before his countrymen or a military tribunal, or to refute an *ex parte* charge concerning which his lips were sealed. The animus of the attack upon Col. Hale is not clearly discerned through the accumulating mist of a century; but no evidence appears except his own conjecture in his appeal to Washington, that it originated in the jealousy of his inferior officers. It is certain that the accusation, whatever may have been its source, has never been sustained by the production, or even promise, of evidence," &c.

It is to be regretted that the exact terms of Hale's application to Washington have not been given, so that each might judge for himself of their significance. As the order for Hale's arrest for treason was made September 4, 1777, and he remained at Rindge until June 14, 1779—more than a year and nine months after the date of the order for arrest, it would seem as if there must have been time enough for a trial, had there been any charges in the mind of Washington sufficiently grave to warrant one. If a paroled prisoner could have been arrested for treason, he could equally well have been tried for it, and the fact that Hale was not tried, shows to our mind that the charges must have been withdrawn as baseless, almost as soon as made. In those jealous and suspicious times, a man, who, it was believed, could have been cashiered for treason or other misconduct, would not have been continued along for two years in the service as a colonel; for Congress would have grudged his pay, and ambitious subordinates would have desired the vacancy for the sake of securing promotion. Hale's not having been tried, appears to us a very significant and

favorable circumstance for him, apart from the uncertainty it leaves behind. A court of inquiry, which he probably sought, seems not to have been thought by his superiors, necessary enough to pay for the inconvenience it would occasion to convene it; so the uncertainty remains undispeled. The fact that Col. Hale was at home in Rindge for two years after the battle of Hubbardton, blunts, in a measure, the point of some of Mr. Stearns' argument.

The following, it seems to us, is the most probable explanation of Hale's conduct. The British invested Ticonderoga July 3d, and, of course, the men were on active duty and were under more or less strain from that date. July 5th, the British were discovered on Sugar Loaf Hill, or Mount Defiance—"the Mountain which overlooks Ti," as Capt. Greenleaf expresses it,—and at 9 o'clock that evening the troops were informed of the proposed evacuation. The "night was employed in packing up stores and preparing for a retreat"—a most demoralizing occupation, as every soldier knows. The rear guard left Ticonderoga at 2 o'clock in the morning, and Mount Independence at 4th, and the retreat commenced in utter demoralization and confusion.¹⁷ Anburey, in speaking of the British pursuit, says, "we marched * * in a very hot and sultry day, over a continued succession of steep and woody hills"; and Capt. Greenleaf says,—“after as fatiguing March as I ever knew we arrived at a Town Call'd Hubbarton 22 Miles from the Mount.” It should be borne in mind that these retreating soldiers, with their arms, accoutrements, knapsacks, canteens and haversacks, were in no pedestrian attire. That night the tired, retreating Americans bivouacked in the woods; but the night was disturbed, for, as Greenleaf says,

"the Indians took off a Centry which Alarm'd our party which were here"; and Hale's regiment was with the rear guard, and therefore *there*. The morning of the fight, according to Greenleaf, they had heard that the British had captured Skenesborough and all their baggage, so it would appear that there was no element lacking to depress the morale of the troops; and that *then* was the time for their enemies to strike them a blow. At that very moment the British improved their opportunity and took the Americans by surprise. Anburey says, "At three in the morning our march was renewed, and about five we came up with the enemy, who were busily employed in cooking their provisions."

The exact time of the beginning of the action is variously fixed. Anburey says, five; Capt. Stone, seven⁸; Capt. Greenleaf, a little after seven; Ebenezer Fletcher, "just as the sun rose," which, early in July, must have been about twenty minutes before five; while Hadden gives it, at two, which is palpably wrong, he probably having confused the hour of the British beginning their march that morning, with the time of their beginning the attack; and two is an hour earlier even, than Anburey says the British marched. The Americans all admit that they were taken by surprise. Capt. Stone says, "the Inemy came upon us without warning." Ebenezer Fletcher, of Hale's regiment, gives this account of the action until his regiment was driven back.¹⁸ "The morning after our retreat," he says, "orders came very early for the troops to refresh and be ready for marching. Some were eating, some were cooking, and all in a very unfit posture for battle. Just as the sun rose, there was a cry, '*the enemy are upon us.*' Look-

ing round I saw the enemy in line of battle. Orders came to lay down our packs and be ready for action. The fire instantly began. We were but few in number compared to the enemy. At the commencement of the battle, many of our party retreated back into the woods. Capt. Carr came up and says, 'My lads advance, we shall beat them yet.' A few of us followed him in view of the enemy. Every man was trying to secure himself behind girdled trees, which were standing on the place of action. I made shelter for myself and discharged my piece. Having loaded again and taken aim, my piece missed fire. I brought the same a second time to my face ; but before I had time to discharge it, I received a musket ball in the small of my back, and fell with my gun cocked. My uncle, Daniel Foster, standing but little distance from me, I made out to crawl to him and spoke to him. He and another man lifted me and carried me back some distance and laid me down behind a large tree, where was another man crying out most bitterly with a grievous wound. By this time I had bled so freely, I was very weak and faint. I observed the enemy were like to gain the ground. Our men began to retreat and the enemy to advance. Having no friend to afford me any relief, every one taking care of himself, all things looked very shocking to me ; to remain where I was and fall into the hands of the enemy, especially in the condition I was in, expecting to receive no mercy, it came into my mind to conceal myself if possible. I made use of my hands and knees, as well as I could, and crawled about two rods among some small brush, and got under a log. Here I lay concealed from the enemy, who came instantly to the place I lay wounded at. What became of my distressed partner I know not. The enemy

pursued our men in great haste. Some of them came over the log where I lay. Some came so near I could almost touch them. I was not discovered by the enemy till the battle was over." Fletcher goes on to describe how he was discovered by the British and conducted to their camp. "Here," he says, "I found a number of my brother soldiers in the same situation as myself." Although there is no positive statement to that effect, yet all the surrounding circumstances point to the extreme probability, if not almost actual certainty, that Hale's was the outlying and most exposed regiment, and was in rear of Warner's and Francis' regiments, and so subject to the enemy's first attack.

The accounts of all the participants above given, clearly show that Warner's troops were taken by surprise, and St. Clair so states. We have no means of knowing in exactly what state Warner's regiment was when the enemy struck it, as we have found no account by a member of that organization. Francis' regiment had just been formed; but Hale's regiment was not formed, and the advancing enemy first struck this latter regiment unformed, and, of course, in confusion, and hence easily hurled it back; while Warner and Francis being formed and acting more in unison, were better able to resist. It is impossible to conceive exactly what Allen meant, by saying, "Col. Hale being apprized of the danger, never brought his regiment to the charge but left Warner and Francis to stand the blowing of it, and fled." If he meant that Hale did not form and fight in regimental formation at all, it was undoubtedly true; but the reason is apparent, and had the British attacked but a few minutes earlier, according to Greenleaf, they would have found Francis' regiment likewise unformed. From a

military stand-point, one would suppose that the commander of the rear guard was to blame for not having pickets thrown far enough out in his rear to have apprised him of the enemy's advance in sufficient time to have formed his command to meet them, and thus avoid a surprise; and St. Clair certainly blamed Warner, and did not mention Hale.

A quick, sharp, decisive action, beginning with a surprise and ending with a rout, scattered the weary, retreating Americans, and hopelessly demoralized them. Francis' regiment was "overpowered by numbers," and broken to pieces; and Capt. Greenleaf brought off, of his company, only a wounded sergeant and six men with him, a number of his company being taken prisoners. Warner with less than one hundred and fifty of his regiment, made his way to Manchester. Such a succession of demoralizing events begets a condition of mind favorable to becoming a victim of stratagem, and a few determined men, exhilarated by success just in proportion as the other side was depressed by defeat, could effect vastly more than could be accomplished under other circumstances. The mountains were steep and woody, and afforded precisely the position for such a ruse as Hadden describes. The combination of adverse circumstances had thickened round Hale darkly enough to lead a discriminating student, to go with great caution in weighing the justice of Ethan Allen's harsh judgment of Hale's conduct. When Hale's band of about a hundred men, therefore, came straggling on, as, under the circumstances, it is not very strange it should, in no condition to form rapidly, and unexpectedly encountered what by the nature of the position and the arrangement of the British party seemed to be a sub-

stantial force intercepting it, and was summoned to surrender, Hale doubtless complied, with the idea of sparing the lives of his men; for, had the force been what he undoubtedly believed it to be, it could easily have enforced its demand. The ruse is not an uncommon one in war, and, under favoring circumstances, sometimes succeeds. Had not the conditions favored in Hale's case, the British officer would not have had the temerity to make the attempt.

Such, in our opinion, was the probable conduct, with its explanation, of Col. Nathan Hale at Hubbardton. That his superiors did not deem him very censurable, would seem to be shown by his not having been court martialed, and by no more reflections upon his behaviour having come down to us. It could hardly be expected that the victim of so unfortunate a capture, would escape unfavorable comment altogether. Whoever recalls the retreat from Bull Run, in the early days of the late Rebellion, will, we fancy, understand what Hadden meant, when, in speaking of the American troops after the defeat at Hubbardton, he, unlike Ethan Allen, referred to Hale's capture, not in words of contempt, but only, "as a proof of what may be done against beaten battalions while their fears are strong upon them." [I. M. 83-99: D. I. 45. ¹I. O. O. 526, 527, 529. ²B. 106. ³I. O. O. 651. ⁴I. O. O. 672. ⁵B. N. 27, 48. ⁶O. 330, 340. ⁷I. K. 301-303. ⁸M. L. 6. ⁹E. 951. ¹⁰C. Q. Q: C. Q. ¹¹L. A. ¹²C. A. 80. ¹³K. W. 423, 427, 432, 436. ¹⁴K. W. 423, 426, 432. ¹⁵E. X. ¹⁶C. R: B. B. ¹⁷D. I.]

NO. 16.

GOVERNOR PHILIP SKENE.

For a number of years preceding our Revolutionary struggle there were three officers named Philip Skene in the British army. During the war that effected the conquest of Canada, one of them was a captain in the 26th Foot;* another, the subject of this sketch, held the same rank in the 27th Foot; while the third appears in the Army List of 1765, as a lieutenant on the half-pay of the 72d Foot, where he continues so to appear down to and including the List of 1774.¹

The Philip Skene referred to in the text, was a grandson of John Skene of Halyards, in Fifeshire, Scotland, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Wallace, of Craigie, in Ayrshire, the nearest collateral descendant of the celebrated but unfortunate William Wallace. Philip Skene entered the army in 1739, but as the only set of British Army Lists accessible to the annotator, that in the Astor Library, does not extend back of the year 1754, it is, of course, impossible to give the dates of his commissions prior to those held at that date. Besides many actions of inferior note, he was at the taking and

a. This officer became a captain in the 26th Foot June 19, 1751, major of the 52d Foot Dec. 19, 1764, lieutenant-colonel of the 69th Foot April 20, 1771, a colonel in the army Feb. 19, 1779, and a major-general Nov. 20, 1782. His name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1792. [B. H.]

destroying of Carthagera and Portobello, at the battle of Culoden, and afterwards at Fontenoy, Lafeldt, etc., under his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland; and he was more than once wounded.² He was commissioned a lieutenant in the 1st, or Royal Regiment of Foot, August 16, 1750, and he was promoted to a captaincy February 2, 1757, in the 27th, or Inniskilling Foot, then in America; and which regiment formed part of the force under Lord Loudoun that year. He was at Gen. Abercrombie's unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga July 8, 1758, where he was wounded.³ The next year he was at the capture of that fortress by Gen. Amherst, by whom he was appointed major of brigade, July 31, 1759⁴; and on the 10th of the next October he was detailed to serve in that capacity to the troops left under the command of Brigadier Ruggles at Crown Point.⁵ His service in that locality colored his whole after-life, as it opened up to his knowledge a country where he subsequently concluded to settle. In 1762, Capt. Skene went upon the expedition against Martinico and Havana under Lord Albermarle, he being one of the first to enter the breach at the storming of Moro Castle; and on the capture of Havana he was appointed its town major.⁶ Philip Skene never attained a higher rank in the army than a captaincy, and his title of major was, doubtless, obtained from his having been brigade major and town major; but his title of colonel is not so easily accounted for, though it was, probably, purely complimentary. When his regiment was ordered to Ireland Capt. Skene exchanged with Capt. Henry Cowan of the 10th Foot, in order to remain in America, his commission in this latter regiment bearing date May 26, 1768. He did not remain either in the 10th, or in the army, long after that, however,

as he sold out Dec. 4, 1769, to Lieut. Lawrence Parsons of the 10th, and retired from the military service altogether.¹

Dr. Fitch, in writing of Skene's land operations, says: —
“It being now evident that the war was soon to terminate, his enterprising spirit seems to have induced him to seek some surer path to distinction and wealth than would be afforded him in the army on the return of peace. The idea of being the founder and leading man of a considerable settlement at the head of this most important lake” (Champlain) “occurred to him, and on consulting with Gen. Amherst upon this subject, his commander strongly encouraged him in this project. He therefore resolved to embark in it without delay, and in the year 1761, at his own expense, moved thirty families to the mouth of Wood Creek, and supplied them with provisions for their subsistence. But in the autumn of this year he left them for a time, in order to accompany the expedition against Martinique and Havana, that now drew off all the surplus troops from our land. Deprived of his fostering care, the settlers became discouraged with their lonely situation, so far in the wilderness, and most of them abandoned the place. When Col. Skene returned from the West Indies in 1763, he found that of his infant colony, only fifteen persons were remaining. But the project in which he had embarked had now become too favorite a one with him to be abandoned. He accordingly with twenty-four other persons, Nov. 12th, 1763, petitioned for a grant of 25,000 acres at the mouth of Wood Creek, stating that he believed he could, if duly encouraged by the government, settle a hundred families within three years, upon the lands applied for. March 13th, 1765, the patent was issued, and the tract thus granted was incorporated into a township,

named Skenesborough. * * In addition to this tract Skene obtained, July 6th, 1771, a further grant of 9,000 acres, known as 'Skene's little patent,' adjoining the north side of the great patent."

Skene, whom Dr. Fitch characterizes as "a man of intelligence, wealth and enterprise, beyond any other person that was in the country for several years," sedulously devoted himself to the settlement and improvement of his township and the developement of the resources of the surrounding district. He burned lime, quarried stone, and reared buildings of a character far more substantial than any other private individual in the province aspired to possess in those days. He erected and operated a forge, and built and run saw mills. He constructed and navigated vessels on the lake north of him, and laid out and opened roads to communicate with the settlement south of him.⁷

In the collisions between the Yorkers and the Green Mountain Boys, Skene does not seem to have been conspicuous; yet on the 24th of August, 1774, Governor Tryon, by advice of his Majesty's Council, directed Philip Skene, J. Munro, Patrick Smith, and John McComb, Justices of the Peace for the County of Albany, to try Cockran and fourteen other armed men for violently assaulting and dispossessing Donald McIntyre and other complainants, of lands granted by New York, and improved by them near Argyle.⁸

The expedition, which resulted in the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, and Crown Point by Seth Warner, in May, 1775, soon after the opening of hostilities between the American colonies and the mother country, also included the

8. The name was changed, in 1788, to Whitehall, its present appellation.

capture of Skenesborough. This part of the plan was entrusted to Capt. Samuel Herrick, of the Hampshire Grants, who, on the 9th of May, with thirty men, proceeded to Skenesborough and took Skene, the younger, his aunt, two sisters, and a man named Brook, prisoners, and seized a schooner and several batteaux, with which they hastened to Ticonderoga. Skene, the elder, had been in England where he had been appointed 'Lieutenant Governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and surveyor of his Majesty's woods and forests bordering on Lake Champlain,' and where he had married a lady with a fortune of £40,000; but he sailed from London for Quebec, in the ship Sally,⁹ in May, 1775. Learning from a vessel which was spoken on the banks of Newfoundland, of the loss of Ticonderoga, the vessel's course was changed so that he landed at Philadelphia, June 7th.¹⁰

The several votes of Congress in regard to Skene seem to elevate him into an importance he scarcely merited. June 8th, "the Congress being informed that a major Skene, with some other officers, who arrived last evening, in a vessel from London,

c. Early in April, 1775, some of the counties (Cumberland, Gloucester, etc.) in New Hampshire, aroused against the New York government by the Westminster massacre, held a convention and passed a vote of grievances, 'with an humble petition to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and either annexed to some other government or erected and incorporated into a new one, as may appear to the said inhabitants, to the royal wisdom and clemency, and till such time as his Majesty shall settle this controversy.' It is probable that the contemplated prayer in the proposed petition to the king, in the alternative of 'being erected and incorporated into a new gov-

ernment,' had reference to a project which had been formed by Col. Allen, William Gilliland, and others, in conjunction with Col. Philip Skene, to establish a royal colony, which was to embrace the grants of New Hampshire west of Connecticut River, and the country north of the Mohawk and west to Lake Ontario, and to reach north to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, of which colony Col. Skene was to have been the royal governor. What the precise character and extent of his authority was, or what was really in contemplation by him, or by the king's government, is not known. [F. N., 244.]

were, with their papers, in the custody of the troops of this city ; that the said Skene has lately been appointed governor of the forts of Ticonderoga, and Crown-Point ; that one of the officers with him, is a lieutenant in the regulars, now in the province of Quebec ; and moreover, that the said Skene had declared, that he has authority to raise a regiment in America ; from all this, apprehending that the said Skene is a dangerous partisan of administration, and that his papers may contain intelligence of ministerial designs against America, very important to be known :

“ *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to examine the papers of the said Skene and lieutenant, in their presence :

“ That the committee consist of Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Mifflin :

“ That the said committee be upon honour to conceal whatever, of a private nature, may come to their knowledge by such examination ; and that they communicate, to this Congress, what they shall discover relative to the present dispute between Great-Britain and America.”

Two days later the committee having reported, Gov. Skene was released from confinement and permitted to go at large anywhere within eight miles of Philadelphia, between Delaware and Schuylkill, on his parole of honor not to pass those limits, and that he would hold no correspondence with any person whatsoever, on any political subject. June 27th it was resolved that Gov. Skene be sent under a guard to Weathersfield, or Middletown, in Connecticut, there to be confined on his parole not to go out of the bounds prescribed to him by Gov. Trumbull. July 5th, “ it appearing that governor Philip Skene and

Mr. Lundy have designs inimical to America : Ordered, That it be recommended to the delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania, to have the order of Congress of the 27th of June last, respecting the sending governor Skene to Connecticut, immediately carried into execution." So Skene was despatched to Connecticut under a guard of nineteen men." July 24, 1775, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., wrote to his brother Joseph,—“Gov. Skene has been very surly and turbulent, and is very much displeased with his destination in the town of Hartford—swore, before he left Philadelphia, that he would never come here—at least he would not come alive. Mr. Ross, one of the Pennsylvania Delegates, told him they did not pretend to have power over his soul—but that if he disengaged soul and body, his body should go where it was ordered.”¹³

From Hartford Gov. Skene and his son, together with Major French, were taken for better security, on an order of the Connecticut Assembly, to West Hartford, where they boarded for about a year at their own expense in the family of Widow Hooker, Gov. Skene having his family with him. They were often insulted by the inhabitants as enemies of the colony, and Skene narrowly escaped being tarred and feathered by his neighbors at West Hartford, for what they deemed his unpatriotic and insulting demeanour.¹⁴ William Pitkin wrote from Hartford to Gov. Trumbull, under date of July 10, 1776, as follows:—“I have since the first of this month, kept a guard at my powder-mill, at the expense of seven shillings per night. I was urged into the measure by a great number of gentlemen that live forty or fifty miles distant. Threats have leaked out from *Skene*, and other inimical monsters, that it should be destroyed, if art or money could effect it.”¹⁵

The Americans were so nervous and distrustful in those days that little things often excited undue alarm. On May 11th, 1776, Gov. Skene's negro servant was elected governor for the negroes, it then being the custom, as it had been for years previous, and continued to be for some time after the war closed, for the negroes of Connecticut, in imitation of their masters, to elect one of their number for their governor, who was uniformly treated with great attention and respect by them, and who never failed to be addressed by his colored brethren as, Governor. This occurrence so alarmed the citizens of Hartford, that Gov. Skene was at once suspected of having been concerned in his negro's election with some design upon the peace of the state; whereupon a committee was appointed to investigate the matter.¹⁴ Though the captive governor was not inculpated by the committee, yet the nerves of the good citizens of Hartford were doubtless greatly soothed, when, on the 23d of that month, Gov. Skene was committed to gaol by the Committee of Prisoners, for refusing to sign a parole.¹⁵

An extract from a letter written at Cambridge, Nov. 9, 1775, and found in *The Remembrancer*, vol. 1, p. 176, says—"Gen. Washington sent a flag into Boston a day or two before Gen. Gage left it, offering an exchange of prisoners, viz Major French for Col. Parker, Lieut. Knight (of the navy) for Capt. Scott, and his Excellency Governor Skene for Corporal Cruise. The two first were accepted, but the last was rejected with scorn." Skene was finally exchanged for James Lovell, and arrived in New York, Oct. 7, 1776, a free man once more.¹⁶ After serving under Sir William Howe for a short time he went to England, but returned to America in the spring of 1777 and proceeded to Canada, whence he accompanied Bur-

goyne on his expedition where he was taken prisoner, being included in the Saratoga surrender.⁶

If not always a judicious adviser, Skene was, at least, a brave officer, and during Burgoyne's campaign he had two horses shot under him.* The kind of advice Skene has the credit of having given Burgoyne, is indicated by a couple of extracts from writers with pronounced tory sympathies. Judge Jones, in vol. 1, page 202, of his *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, uses this language. "This is his" [Burgoyne's] "excuse for taking the fatiguing, toilsome, harassing route he did, instead of what he acknowledges to be 'the more commodious and easy one by way of Fort George.' Had he fairly and openly told the truth, he would have declared that the route he pursued was by the advice of Colonel Skene, the proprietor of Skenesborough, and whose estate there, by clearing out the Wood Creek, and making a firm substantial road from thence to Fort Edward, with strong bridges over all the creeks, and causeways through the swamps and morasses, had Great Britain succeeded in the contest, would have been rendered more valuable by several thousand pounds." Dr. Gordon, in the 2d vol., page 571, of his *History of the American Revolution*, in writing of Burgoyne's retreat after the battle of Bemus' Heights, says:—"It is believed, that gen. Burgoyne, when upon the point of retreating, said to major Skenen to this purport—"You have been the occasion of getting me into this difficulty, now advise me how to get out of it,"—referring to the advice the major gave in relation to the Bennington expedition: and that the major answered—"Scatter your baggage, stores and every thing else that can be spared, at proper distances; and the militia will be

so engaged in collecting and securing the same, that the troops will have an opportunity of getting clear off.' ”

Lieut. Hadden, evidently, had no high opinion of the value of Skene's services, and he undoubtedly represented the prevailing sentiment in Burgoyne's army. It is clear that Skene did not comprehend the deep rooted hostility of the Americans to the British government, as he was fatally deceived by superficial pretensions of loyalty that cost Col. Baum his detachment and his life, at Bennington. “A letter from Philadelphia dated June 13, 1775,” and printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 2d in that year, to be found in *The Remembrancer*, vol. 1, page 130, “reports that Major Skeene (who was made prisoner upon his landing at Philadelphia from England on his way to Crown Point, of which he was appointed Governor) saw from a window, the militia of that city exercise before the Congress, and that he was so astonished at their excellent discipline and formidable appearance, that in spite of his prejudice he could not forbear exclaiming in the following words—‘ Well, if the Angel Gabriel had descended from Heaven, and reported to me what I now behold, I could scarcely have believed it.’ ”

Skene seems to have had a most unfortunate experience with the Americans. The following advertisement is extracted from the *Boston Gazette* for Monday, November 10, 1777.

“ SPRINGFIELD, *November 7, 1777.*

“ Whereas Colonel Skeen is well known to be a notorious Enemy to our Country's Liberties, and has broke his Faith of Capitulation, and gone directly contrary to General Gates's positive Orders to him in particular, when attempting to go to

Albany against Orders—when General Gates took from him his Sword, and ordered him to go directly to Boston, with the English Troops, which was to go by the shortest Rout—He has stroled thro' the Country to Hartford, where he said he was taking his own Way to Boston, but is mistrusted to be going to Long or Rhode Island—Therefore it is recommended and desired, that every Friend to the Country will apprehend said Offender, wherever he may be found, and closely confine him in some State-Gaol till General Gates's further Pleasure and Orders may be known about him.

“EBENEZER LEARNED, B. G.”

Though he finally arrived at Hartford under guard, yet parole limits did not long contain him, as shown by the following letter from the American Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, found among the Heath Papers.

“HARTFORD, Nov'r 11, 1777.

“S'r : I take the freedom to inform your Hon^r that Maj^r, alias Governor Skene has been strooting Down 6 miles west of Hartford, from thence to East Winsor, thence towards Springfield (this I have by information): how he can acc't for such conduct, after being sent back by Gen'l Gates under Guard for like conduct at or near Albany—I must leave to your better Judgement,—for enquiry. I expect to be on in a few Days.

“I am S'r Your Obedient Hum. Serv^t,

“JOSHUA MERSEREAU,

“D. C. of Prisoners.

“The Honourable Gen' Heath.”

In May and June, 1779, Skene was in England where he was under orders of the House of Commons as a witness in the investigation of Burgoyne's campaign, though his testimony was not taken. Philip Skene and his son, Andrew Philip Skene, were, by the New York Act of Attainder passed Oct. 22d, 1779, "attainted of the offence of adhering to the enemies of the State, and their estates forfeited to the People of this state." After the war, it is said that Skene came to this country during Gov. Clinton's administration and tried to recover his property; but, not succeeding, went back to England where he lived in retirement and died at Addersey Lodge, near Stoke Goldington, Bucks, on the 9th of October, 1810, at an advanced age, leaving a son and two daughters.⁶

Dr. Fitch gives this description of Skene's personal appearance, and the popular feeling entertained for him in his lifetime by the Americans of his neighborhood. "We are surprised," says the doctor "at the malignancy of the hatred which most of our old people manifest towards this man" (Skene). "From one, who in his youth saw him repeatedly in Burgoyne's camp at Fort Edward, we are told that he was a large, fine looking person, with a pleasant countenance and an affable deportment. Except what took place in open and honorable warfare, we cannot learn that he was privy to any acts by which the inhabitants here, were ever distressed or molested in any way. But there is no doubt his power and influence and the known energy of his character made the leading whigs of the county from the very outset of our revolutionary contest fear him, ten fold more than any other friend of the King dwelling in this section of the state" (i. e. Washington Co., N. Y.). "They saw that it was necessary

that his popularity among the inhabitants should be effectually destroyed ; and the abhorrence with which he is commonly spoken of, indicates as much as any fact within our knowledge, the consummate tact and ability with which the affairs of those times were here managed. Could we put the question to any of the common people who were residing here in days that are now gone by, who it was that they hated most, the reply we know would be, ' the devil ;' but if we further asked who next to him they most execrated, we are in doubt whether the answer would be ' the Pope,' or ' old Skene.' ['B. H. 'E. G. 672. 'H. E. 176. 'M. V. 106, note. 'M. V. 106. 'G. R. 692-695. 'D. G. 'F. Z. 281. 'I. A. A. 29. 'C. M. 170, 175, 176. 'C. E. 107, 109, 119, 133, 203. 'L. L. 217, note. 'I. 178. 'F. S. 31. 'H. 601, 602. 'J. 437, 465, 574, 919.]

NO. 17.

LA CORNE SAINT-LUC,

THE LEADER OF BURGOYNE'S INDIANS.

Luc de Chapt de la Corne Saint-Luc, or, as the name is usually abbreviated, La Corne St. Luc, is most always spoken of, either as La Corne, or Saint-Luc ; and he is the same person referred to by Hadden, as Luke Le Corn. He belonged to a family noted in the annals of Canada for the number of its military members. St. Luc's grandfather was Louis de la Corne, Sieur de Chapt ; and his grandmother was Antoinette Dallemaigne de la Fort. Jean-Louis de la Corne, of the

Diocese of Clermont in Auvergne, St. Luc's father, entered the army, and lost an eye at the siege of Gérované. While yet a lieutenant he married, in June, 1693, Marie Pécaudy, daughter of Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecoeur (a distinguished captain), by his wife, Barbe Denis, and crossed over to Canada where he soon won distinction. Having been promoted to the rank of captain and decorated with the cross of St. Louis, St. Luc's father was successively appointed Town-Major of Trois-Rivières, and major of troops at Quebec. In 1724, he received a pension of 400 livres; and two years later he was made lieutenant of the king at Montreal, where he died in 1731. By his marriage with Mlle. de Contrecoeur he had several sons who became heads of the families, de la Corne, de la Corne de la Colombière, de la Corne du Breuil, and de la Corne St. Luc.* Five of the sons were promoted to the rank of captain, and four of them were decorated with the cross of St. Louis. The most celebrated of them were de la Corne, called the Chevalier, and de la Corne St. Luc.¹ The first commanded in Acadie and rendered much service to the French crown during the war that ended in the conquest of Canada. The second was the subject of this sketch, who, for a series of years during the French regime in Canada, was an active partisan leader against the English, and who, during our Revolutionary struggle, joined hands with his former enemies and turned all his energies against the American colonies.

The earliest mention we find of St. Luc's military career is

a. If any one desires to make an attempt to master the mystery of French Canadian surnames, and to ascertain how the son of a La Corne could become a Colombière, a Du Breuil, or a St. Luc;

and the son of a Boucherville, a Niverville, or a Montizambert; he is referred to the Abbé Tanguay's *Dictionnaire Généalogique*, vol. 1, page XXXI.

in 1739, in a report sent to France of the officers serving in Canada, where he is included in a list of *Enseignes en Second*; and against his name is the comment, *tres capable*.² In January, 1746, while still an ensign, he was sent with a detachment of French, Colonists, and Iroquois Indians, to reinforce St. Pierre, with whom he remained till April of that year, making divers scouts on Lake St. Sacrament, and in the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederic, as the French called Lake George and Crown Point.³ In June, 1747, he set out from Fort St. Frederic, with 20 Frenchmen, and some Indians of different nations, about 200 in all, to strike a blow at the English at Fort Clinton. He so successfully drew a portion of the garrison into ambush as to totally rout them. So hard pushed were the English that some of them threw themselves into the river and were drowned; and others, while struggling in the water to make their escape, were shot or tomahawked. Forty-one prisoners and twenty-nine scalps were taken. The number of those drowned could not be ascertained, but of the 125, or thereabouts, that made the sortie from the fort, only some 15 or 20 appear to have re-entered it.⁴ During the remainder of the war St. Luc was actively engaged in scouts and in ambushing convoys and small parties of the enemy.

He was promoted to be a lieutenant of infantry as early as 1750; how much earlier, we have not been able to discover.⁵ He belonged to the troops of the Marine, of which, in 1755 certainly, he was a lieutenant; and a captain the same, or the following year. In 1755 he was present at Baron Dieskau's defeat⁶; and in the French expedition against Fort William Henry, in 1757, he had command of the Indians of the Left Column. After Col. Monro's surrender, to quote from the

French account, 'M. de Montcalm ordered out an escort and directed M. de St. Luc de la Corne, commanding the Indians, and several Colonial officers conversant with their languages, to accompany the garrison in order to protect it against insult from the Indians.'⁷ Notwithstanding the escort a portion of the garrison was massacred by the savages.

On the 30th July, 1758, St. Luc, with a detachment of 400 Canadians and Indians, attacked and captured on the Lydius, or Fort Edward road, a convoy of about 150 men, with 54 wagons loaded with provisions. Not being able to save the train it was destroyed, and 230 oxen were killed, 80 scalps and 64 prisoners—men, women and children, were taken; while St. Luc lost but one Iroquois killed, two others being slightly wounded.⁸ He took part in the battle on the Plains of Abraham Sept. 13, 1759⁹; and at the battle of St. Foy, April 28, 1760, he commanded the Indians, and was slightly wounded.¹⁰

The war was over: Canada had passed into the hands of the English; and St. Luc, in recognition of his services, had long since been created a Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. In 1761, he decided to remove with his brother, his children and nephews, to France. Having ready money, some £6000, he was about to purchase a vessel at Quebec for that purpose, when the generosity of General Murray, the English commander, made this unnecessary; and the *Auguste* was fitted up at government expense. In this ill-starred ship St. Luc and one hundred and twenty of the chief persons in the colony, including his two sons, his brother, the Chevalier La Corne, and two nephews, besides several ladies,

officers and soldiers, sailed Oct. 17, 1761. St. Luc has left an interesting journal, in French, kept by himself,^b of the appalling disaster which befell the *Auguste* on the coast of Cape Breton. The captain, five of the crew, and St. Luc alone of all the passengers, reached the shore alive. For more than three months St. Luc journeyed from the scene of the wreck during a Canadian winter, through forests, over bays in a frail canoe, and over a wilderness of snow on snow shoes, nearly 1700 miles, till, finally, his tall form reduced nearly to a skeleton, he arrived at Quebec.* The loss of family and

b. Journal du Voyage de M. Saint-Luc de la Corne, Écr. dans le Navire L'Auguste, en l'an 1761. Second Ed. A Coté et Cie. Quebec, 1863.

c. The following is extracted from Le Moine's *Maple Leaves*, New Series, page 119:—"We shall condense la Corne's narrative of the shipwreck. The ship struck on the 15th November; la Corne and his six surviving companions, including the captain, were washed ashore in a boat, more dead than alive; the 16th was employed in digging graves: none of his children, none of the ladies had been saved; the young, the fair, the highborn strewn in hileous confusion a rock-bound coast amidst fragments of the wreck,—in all one hundred and fourteen corpses. Such were the dismal objects which met the gaze of la Corne and of his fellow-sufferers on the morning of the 16th November. Amidst the roar of the sea and of the tempest, the last rites were performed by the sorrowing parent, and on the 17th, with a feeling common to all they hurried from a spot in which everything reminded them of death, '*plurima mortis imago*,' and took to the woods, not knowing where they were; on the 17th a snow storm added to their misery; three of the party here gave out through fatigue,

but la Corne, who all along appears as the leading spirit, urged them on, and with success; on the 25th, his journal mentions, as a godsend, the discovery of some deserted huts;—in them, they found two dead men; on the 26th two more of the party gave out, and were reluctantly left behind with some provisions. Twelve inches of snow had fallen that day.

"On the 3rd December, after a tedious tramp through the forest, not knowing where they were, they struck on the sea coast and discovered an old boat, unseaworthy; the captain of the *Auguste* set to work to caulk her, and matters seemed likely to assume a more hopeful aspect, when a fresh snow-storm nearly caused the destruction of the whole party. 'Our provisions running short,' adds la Corne, 'we had to live on wild berries and sea weed. On the 4th, the storm having abated, we found our boat imbedded in the snow, but when we came to launch her, our captain, who until then had held out, declared he could go no further on account of the pains and ulcers he labored under; the three others mostly as bad-sided with him, and being alone, I was compelled, although suffering much less, to remain with them. I did not like to desert them, and we trusted to Providence, when two

friends seems to have entirely changed his plans. He bade adieu to all thought of *la belle France*, and remained in Canada, a British subject. He does not seem to have at once settled down to his new allegiance, for Lieut-Governor Colden of New York, wrote to the Lords of Trade, Dec. 19, 1763, as follows:—"The Indians, as I am inform'd, affirm that they were at first incited to this Conspiracy by some of the Principa. Men in Canada, whom they have named; with others, the Vicar General & St. Luke le Corn, the last is now in Canada." "

St. Luc was one of the first Legislative Councillors ap-

Indians made their appearance. Our men hailed them with loud cries and lamentations; in which I could catch the words 'have mercy on us.' I was then smoking, a quiet spectator of this sorrowful scene. Our men mentioned my name, and the Indians greeted me warmly. I had on several occasions rendered service to these tribes. I learned that we were ninety miles from Louisbourg (Cap Breton). They told me they were ready to conduct me to St. Pierre. I had our men crossed over a river which was there, and I left with the Indians, for their wigwam about three leagues distant. They gave me dried meat, and on the 5th, I returned to my friends.

"Thence, we follow the hardy adventurer to Saint Pierre, to Labrador Bay, and finally we find him, in spite of all remonstrance, starting in a birch canoe, in that inclement season, with two young men whom he had tempted to this fool-hardy enterprise, by offering them twenty-five louis d'or; they afterwards landed at Cheda-Bouctou, and after encountering great privation, fatigue, and divers perilous adventures, he arrived at Fort Cumberland, formerly Fort Beauséjour, when after a short rest he

continued his journey on foot, having worn out his strength and his snow shoes. The Temiscouata portage brought him subsequently to the lower parish, then to Kamouraska; and the night he spent at the Manor of Saint Jean-Port-Joly is graphically described in the *Canadians of Old* " [by M. de Gaspé]. "He arrived at Quebec, on the 23rd February, laid an account of his shipwreck before General Murray, and left for Montreal to see General Gage. This iron-framed man closes his Journal by stating that the fatigues, dangers and starvation he was exposed to, were very great—that the circuitous road he followed led him to believe he must have walked at least 1650 miles in the severest season in the year, and unprovided with any succour.

"I used to see my guides and companions, the Indians and Acadians, giving out after eight day's marching, and often, less. During all this time, I enjoyed excellent health, had no dread of the consequences, and fortunately withstood this excessive fatigue; had I had guides as vigorous as myself, I would have saved one hundred and thirty pounds which it cost me, and I would have arrived earlier."

pointed after the passage of the Quebec Act, in 1774, and he was a strong stickler for the old Canadian forms of government." In the fall of 1775 the governor and Legislative Council of Quebec were assembled, but, after several meetings, were not able to agree upon any ordinances. "Monsieur St. Luc La Corne and others of the Councillors would not hear of juries, but insisted on following the letter of the Quebec Act. The Governor suddenly broke up the Council and returned to Montreal."

When hostilities between Great Britain and her American colonies began, St. Luc at once espoused the cause of the crown; and as early as May, 1775, immediately after the Americans captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, we find him sending presents to the savage tribes of the north and inciting them to take up arms against the colonies.⁴ A few months later, when Montgomery appeared to be sweeping all before him in his Canadian invasion, and it seemed as if Montreal was about to fall into his hands, the wily and politic St. Luc dispatched an Indian embassy with his submission to the American general. Before its return, however, the aspect of affairs had changed. Ethan Allen's ill-judged attack on Montreal had failed, and a number of the inhabitants of the surrounding country had flocked to the city and put themselves under Gen. Carleton to aid in repelling the invaders; hence matters looked much less desperate than a little earlier. At this juncture assurances arrived from Montgomery that St. Luc's submission was accepted, and protection was guaranteed to him. Here was a dilemma. A few short days before, he had deserted one side; now, he found it convenient to renounce his submission to the other. Accordingly, Montgomery's letter

was treated with contempt and consigned to the flames. Though this double dealing cost St. Luc the confidence of the people, yet Gen. Carleton was wise enough to preserve silence, and to extend to him the same apparent measure of confidence as before.¹⁵

St. Luc was with the party that captured Ethan Allen ; and likewise with Gen. Carleton, when repulsed by Col. Seth Warner, at Longueuil.¹⁶ Montreal finally surrendered November 12th, 1775, but Gen. Montgomery refused to include St. Luc in the capitulation on account of his previous breach of faith.¹⁷ A week later St. Luc was captured on Gen. Prescott's flotilla with the fleeing British troops ; and again Montgomery visited St. Luc's faithlessness upon him by sending him to Boucherville, without permitting him to land at Montreal with his fellow prisoners.¹⁸ Early in December, owing to suspicions that he, with others, was plotting the destruction of the American garrison at Montreal, his house and papers at Boucherville were examined, and he himself was arrested and taken thence, first to La Prairie, and then to Cognewaga. The information which excited the suspicions proving false, a few days subsequently, St. Luc, who was ill, was ordered to take up his former quarters at Boucherville.¹⁹

St. Luc's presence in Canada excited the distrust and suspicion of the Indians that inclined to the American cause, and under date of February 27, 1776, Stephen Moylan, one of Washington's staff, wrote from Cambridge to Gen. Wooster, as follows : — " I have it in command from his Excellency General Washington to acquaint you that the *Indians*, who were lately here from Canada, are very much dissatisfied that Mr. St.

Luke La Corne is suffered to be at liberty ; he is, by all accounts, a dangerous person, therefore think it will be better for our own safety, and to quiet the minds of the *Indians*, to have that gentleman sent out of that Province. Your compliance herewith will be pleasing to his Excellency, and he is strongly of opinion will be of very great service to the *American* cause."²⁰ Nine days before the date of this letter, however, Gen. Wooster had sent St. Luc to Gen. Schuyler, at Albany, who ordered him to Esopus, in Ulster County, New York ; and he was detained as a prisoner for more than a year."

He finally returned to Canada the latter part of May, 1777²¹, with his apparent natural enmity to the American colonies stimulated by his treatment in captivity, for when the British ministry were enlisting the *Indians* in their behalf, he was a willing and a powerful instrument in that barbarous undertaking. This is clearly shown by the following letter from Major-General William Tryon, late governor of North Carolina, and New York, to Lord George Germaine, which is printed as nearly as possible just as it was written, without change either in the French or the English of its author.

"NEW YORK, 9 April, 1777.

"PRIVATE.

"MY LORD,

"I have had many conversations with Mons. La Corne St. Luc, lately exchanged (released) from his Captivity with the Rebels. We agree perfectly in sentiments respecting the propriety & importance of employing the *Indians*. He is anxious to take the command of as many *Canadians* & *Indians*, as S^r Guy Carleton will entrust him with & will pledge his

life & honor that he will raise them & be in the environs of Albany in sixty days after he lands at Quebec, for which Port he sails with other Canadian Gentlemen the first fair wind. His expressions were emphatical. 'Il faut, dit il, lacher les sauvages sur les frontieres de ces Canals, pour imposer des terreurs, et pour les faire soumettre, au pied de la Throne de sa Majesté Britannic. Il faut absolument mettre tous dehors, pour finir la Guerre cet Été. Les Rebels commence a se guerrier, et si la guerre continue plus long tems que cett'année, il sera tres facheuse pour toute L'Empire. Pour soi-même il m'a assuré, qu'il ne voudroit *jamais, jamais*, (jusqu'a ce que son ame Bat dans son Corps, et le Sang coule dans ses Veines,) oublier les injures, et les Insults qu'il a recue de ces gueux"—These were his expressions; and though in the sixty sixth year of his age is in the vigour of health & animal spirits.

"A Pension or Salary of 500 pr ann. with some Distinction among the savages to La Corne St. Luc would I am persuaded be productive of the best consequences to Govt at this Period—St. W^m Johnson was not an abler Partizan than St. Luc for Indian services.

"I am respectfully

"Your Lordship's faithfull & ob^d hum^{le} Ser't

"WM. TRYON

"Ld. Geo. Germain.

"received 8 May, 1777." 33

d. It is necessary, he said, to let loose the savages upon the frontiers of these rascals to terrify them and to make them throw themselves at the foot of his Britannic Majesty's throne. It was absolutely necessary to do this, in order to finish the war this summer. The Rebels began the war, and if it lasted

longer than this year, it would be very damaging to the whole kingdom. For himself, he assured me that, as long as his heart beat in his body and the blood flowed in his veins, he could never, never forget the injuries, and the insults that he had received from these beggars.

Gov. Tryon, in writing from New York to Secretary Knox, under date of April 21st, 1777, again alludes to St. Luc, and in terms even more forcible than before. He writes—"I am exactly of opinion with Colonel La [Corne] St. Luc, who says ; Il faut lacher les sauvages contre les miserables Rebels, pour imposer de terreur sur les frontieres ; Il dit de plus (mais un peu trop pour moi) 'qu'il faut brutalizer ' les affaires,' as-

2. The brutalizing process referred to in the text would seem to have been carried out, if the following extract from a letter found in the *London Chronicle* for Oct. 7-9, 1777, vol. 42, p. 346, written by an officer in St. Clair's army at Saratoga, dated July 12th, 1777, and said to have been printed in the *Providence Gazette* for July 20th of that year, is worthy of credence.

"You will," says the letter, "no doubt have heard of our retreat from Ticonderoga before this reaches you; but the horrid barbarity of our cruel enemies in the pursuit is what you can have no idea of. To give you one instance of it will be sufficient to make your humanity shudder, though that only respects a French officer.

"This poor gentleman, who was an engineer that had lately come up from Boston, being a stranger to the country, and not able to speak English, or to understand it, lost his way, and got separated from the party he came off with. Two of that grand villain St. Luc la Corne's hell-hounds, the Canada savages, soon fell in with him, and finding him to be a Frenchman, carried him back in triumph to their leader. La Corne at first pretended to take him out of their hands; but upon the Indians claiming him as their prisoner, and insisting, that as he was a Frenchman, and had nothing to do with the quarrel among the English, they would not exchange him, or sell him, but make him a day's sport for all the Indians. He gave him up,

and accordingly they carried the poor gentleman to their camp, and stripping him naked, tied him to a tree, and made a great fire near him; they then took pieces of the pitch pine, and making incisions in his flesh with the points of their scalping knives, stuck them in, so that his body looked like a larded fowl, and setting them on fire, the boiling rosin ran down as they burned, into the wounds. The anguish of the pain the poor gentleman suffered cannot be described; and to prevent the English soldiers from being shocked by his cries, these children of Satan kept dancing and whooping round him while the pine splinters were burning: when that was over, they intended cutting off his burned flesh with red hot knives, and had put the blades of several in the fire for that purpose; but happily for the poor victim an English officer who came past took compassion of him, and snatching an Indian's gun, ran up to the tree, and shot him through the head. The Indians were greatly vexed to be thus cut short of their sport, and flying upon the dead body, like so many ravenous beasts, tore out the heart, and cutting it into as many pieces as there were chiefs present, they presented a piece to each, which they immediately devoured.

"The mangled carcase was then taken from the tree, and thrown into the fire, where it was presently consumed."

The genuineness of this letter is questioned, as it is not to be found in the *Providence Gazette*, whence it purports

surement, il est bien enragée de la mauvais traitement, qu'il a reçu de les avengles peuples—but not to blunder longer on in a language I know imperfectly, I shall express his other sentiments in the English dialect. He assured me that upon the opening of the first assembly with the Savages in Canada, his feelings would be so poignant at their first interview, as would impose a perfect silence upon him, while tears would run down his cheeks; & that when he should be able to expatiate on the indignities and injuries he had experienced, they would instantly take up the hatchet, and resent his affronts. So reciprocal is the affection between the Father and his Children, for such they style each other respectively, and by whom he is as much cherished, as was Sir Wm. Johnson by the Indians of the Six Nations."²⁴

Those letters referred to the man, who afterwards became the leader of Burgoyne's Indians. When Jane McCrea was

to have been taken. Dr. Benjamin Franklin wrote a number of fictitious letters for effect, and of such plausibility that they were well calculated to deceive. As he was at this time the American minister at the French Court and was anxious to enlist the aid of the French monarchy in behalf of the American Colonies, it is believed that this letter was written and caused to be printed in the English papers, for its double effect upon the British Whigs and the French Government. Whether this letter is genuine or not, however, it is hardly an exaggeration, for a letter, about the authenticity of which there is no question, written by an officer at the American headquarters at Moses' Creek, six miles from Fort Edward, under date of July 28, 1777, and printed in the *Providence Gazette* for August 16th, of that year, says:—"The savages

have lately acquitted themselves quite in character. A couple of ladies who chose to remain behind the army and enjoy Burgoyne's proffered protection, have been scalped and mangled in a shocking manner. They make nothing of ripping out a man's heart, cutting off hands," etc., etc.

It may be that this latter letter suggested the former, which may be the reason why it was attributed to the *Providence Gazette*.

f. It is necessary to let loose the savages against the miserable Rebels to impose terror upon the frontiers; he further said (but a little strongly for me) that it was necessary to brutalize matters:—assuredly he is much enraged at the ill treatment he received from these misguided people.

massacred, and Burgoyne, in his indignation, demanded that the murderer should be given up to punishment, it was St. Luc who reminded him of the consequences, and thus secured immunity for his brutal followers.²⁵ He seems early to have become a thorn in Burgoyne's side,²⁶ for the British general accused him of deserting with his savages, at the critical moment at Bennington, and, from the floor of the House of Commons, denounced him as a runaway and a fugitive. St. Luc, on his part, cordially reciprocated Burgoyne's dislike. When in England, in 1778, he freely expressed to the ministers his opinion of the discomfited general. Burgoyne was a fine officer with the regulars, said St. Luc, but he did not seem to like the savages, nor did he take the proper steps to retain their good will: he was '*un brave homme, mais lourd comme un Allemand*'—a brave man but as heavy as a German.²⁶

After his return to Canada, St. Luc addressed a letter to Burgoyne in reply to some of the denunciations heaped upon him by the latter. This letter sheds so much light upon the characters of both St. Luc and Burgoyne that it is given in full, and is as follows:—

"QUEBEC, Oct. 23, 1778.

"SIR: I do not know whether this letter will reach you; but, if it should, it is to inform you that I am surprised at your forgetfulness respecting myself, as well as towards my com-

g. Burgoyne in a private letter to Lord George Germaine, dated Skenesborough, July 11, 1777, thus speaks of St. Luc, when referring to the Indians composing a part of his army. "They" (the Indians) he writes, "are under the directions of a M. St. Luc, a Canadian

gentleman of honour and parts, and one of the best partizans the French had last war, and of one Langlade, the very man who projected and executed with these very nations the defeat of General Braddock." [B. N. App. 21.]

panions the Canadians and the Indians. I cannot think what could be your motive, unless it was to sink into obscurity my reputation along with your own, in which you will never succeed. I was known long before you was in the train, which has given you the occasion to lose one of the finest armies that my country had ever seen.

“ You say, Sir, that I was unqualified to give you any information ; I am more than pleased that you have told the public that you never asked my opinion. Permit me, Sir, however, to inform you, that I have served under general Officers who have honoured me with their confidence ; men who had a just right to that name, who sustained their dignity, and were distinguished for their talents.

“ You accuse me also of quitting your army ; you will permit me, Sir, to say, that those who left it, as well as myself, had no more fear of the danger of carrying arms than yourself. Fifty years of service will clear me from such suspicions ; but you know better the person that made me quit the army, which was yourself.

“ The 16th, the day of the action at Bennington, you sent orders by Major Campbell to hold myself ready to march the 17th, in the morning, with the corps of Canadians and Indians, which was to precede the brigade of General Frazer, to take post at Still-water ; but the same morning, at four o'clock, M. de Lanaudiere informed you of the defeat of the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Beaume and that of Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, which marched to sustain it. He informed you that these two corps had lost at least 700 men ; you gave little credit to this report, and you said to me that the loss was

not 150 ; nevertheless the real loss justified the first report. You then, Sir, gave counter-orders to the whole army which was to march that day, and the next day ordered us to pass the North-river with the brigade of General Frazer, to encamp at Batin-guild. The Indians astonished, and unaccustomed to your grand manœuvres, having observed that you detached no corps to collect the remains of the two scattered detachments at Bennington, and to succour those that were wounded, and in part perishing ; some of the former of whom I saw enter your camp five days after. This conduct, Sir, gave no high idea of the care which you should have taken of the men destined to fight under your command. This indifference towards the Indians also, who had served in the affair at Bennington, who amounted to 150, disgusted them ; many of whom, with their grand Chief, were killed, and of 61 Canadians only 41 remained.

“ Recollect yourself, Sir, what was said in the Council, when you represented our loss as trifling, that you should not impose on yourself in that matter. I told you on the part of the Indians that their merits were great : I was your interpreter. They said many things which it is useless to repeat ; among others that they would demand to speak to you in very absolute terms, from which I told you the consequences that would result from it. In fine, Sir, they were so greatly dissatisfied, that they immediately departed, notwithstanding you refused to furnish them with provisions, shoes, or an interpreter. Two days after this you saw your error.

“ Brigadier Frazer had foreseen what would be the result of your behaviour towards them. At length you sent for me,

and I had the honour to meet you in the Brigadier's tent, when you requested me to return to Canada with dispatches with which you charged me, to engage his Excellency Gen. Carleton to treat the Indians well, and to send them back ; this I did, and should have returned to the army, if the communication had not been totally shut up. After this of what service could I be? I, whom you represent as unqualified for any office, and only one among the departed Savages. Alas! Sir, having ceased to be a General, do not cease to be a Gentleman; I am the same with you; you have the title of General; and though I may not be endowed with the same talents with yourself, yet, being made of the same stuff, I have a right to be treated like a Gentleman.

“As to the rest, Sir, I am ready to cross the sea, though at an advanced age, to justify myself before the King my Master, and my country, from all the falsities which have been laid to my charge; it is very indifferent to me what you think of me.

“I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

“LA CORNE ST. LUC.

“To General Burgoyne.””

Burgoyne was not the only British general whose distrust St. Luc excited, as the following letter from Gen. Haldimand to Lord George Germaine, plainly indicates.

“QUEBEC 13th Sept., 1779.

“MY LORD: I think it necessary to inform your Lordship of certain difficulties which have arisen respecting the command of officers appointed by his Majesty to superintend and

direct the operations of the several savage nations, who are in or near the Province. I shall without reserve communicate to your Lordship my opinion of the matter and request to have His Majesty's order upon the subject as soon as convenient.

“ In the month of January Monsieur St. Luc waited upon me and claimed as his undoubted right, in consequence of the King's Commission, to be declared in the Public Order of the Army a Colonel, expecting by that to have Rank and receive Pay accordingly. I pointed out to him that his request was unprecedented and that his commission would only be declared, when a large Body of Savages were in the Field, and he placed to command them, and also that I was convinced such were His Majesty's Instructions. However as Monsieur St. Luc persevered in his claim, I thought it my duty positively to refuse him, upon which he advertized his horses and effects for sale, not that I believe he either had, or has any Intentions of quitting the Province. I have no reason to complain of any other part of Mons. St. Luc's conduct, but when I consider the time of his claiming his Rank and compare some part of his conversation with Mons. D'Estaing's Proclamation, considering at the same time his former attachment to the French Government I cannot suppose him so thoroughly changed as to authorize the King's Governor to entrust him with the Superintendence of Savages, amongst whom artful men may for a long time carry on dangerous Intrigues undiscovered—much less can I suppose it was His Majesty's intention to allow him a High Rank in the Line.”²⁸

After peace was proclaimed St. Luc, who was a member of the Legislative Council of Canada, seems to have taken an active

part in the political issues of the day. At that time two opposite views divided the Canadians on a vital question, each having many earnest supporters, so that petitions to the king were strongly pressed on both sides. One party demanded the habeas corpus, legislative assemblies, and, generally, all the rights, privileges, and immunities belonging to Britons all over the world. The other party was suspicious of the proposed innovations and favored the retention of the Quebec Act of 1774. St. Luc belonged to the latter, and, in 1784, during this agitation, he moved in the Legislative Council (members of which were appointed for life) that an address should be presented to the king, thanking his majesty for the protection of Canada during the American Revolutionary War, and praying that he would maintain intact the government of 1774. After a long discussion St. Luc's address was adopted by a majority of about two-thirds, the number of votes being 17.³⁹

St. Luc was buried at Montreal, Oct. 4, 1784, aged 72 years. The Parish Registers, from which we glean this information, give the date of sepulture, and not of death, and the date of baptism, but not of birth. Sepulture succeeded death but two or three days; and the regulations of the Bishop of Quebec, established prior to 1703, provided that parents should cause their children to be baptized within three days of birth, or four, at latest, under peril of excommunication.⁴⁰

4. There is some confusion as to the date of St. Luc's birth. The Abbé If La Corne St. Luc was born in 1703, Tanguay, in his *Dictionnaire Genealogique*, vol. 1, p. 167, gives the birth of Louis-Luc, a son of Jean-Louis de la Corne, as June 6, 1703, but no mention is made of any other son named Luc. He also says that Louis-Luc married Marie-Anne Hervieux, the name of the first wife of the subject of this sketch. If La Corne St. Luc was born in 1703, he would have been 74 years old in 1777, whereas Gov. Tryon represented him to be in his 66th year, and "in the vigour of health and animal spirits." The record of the sepulture of *M^r Luc de Chap de Lacorne, Colonel, Chevalier, etc., Conseiller du Roi, &c.*, under

St. Luc was married three times; first, at Montreal, Dec. 10, 1742, to Marie Anne Hervieux; second, at Montreal, Sept. 3, 1757, to Marie Josephe Guillemin, widow of Le Gardeur de St. Pierre; and third, to Marie Anne Marguerite Boucher de Boucherville, daughter of Pierre, the third Seigneur de Boucherville, and sister of René Amable, the fourth Seigneur de Boucherville, who is sketched elsewhere in this volume. His last wife survived him. He left several children; one of whom, Elizabeth, was married to Charles Louis Tarieu de Lanaudiere, who is sketched elsewhere in this volume; another, Marie Anne, to Major, afterwards Lieut.-Col. John Campbell, Superintendent of Indians in Canada; another, Marie Louise, to George Dupré St. George; and still another, Marie Marguerite, to Major John Lennox, a son of Lord Alexander Lennox.³

The character of St. Luc was by no means an enviable one, at least from an American standpoint. Gen. Montgomery in writing to Gen. Schuyler from camp near St. John's, Oct. 6, 1775, says: "Mr. St. Luke's character gives me all the reason in the world to be on my guard against him. I shall insist upon some substantial proof of his sincerity." Samuel Mott wrote to Gov. Trumbull from the same place, and under the same date, as follows:—"St. Luke La Corne, (that arch devil incarnate), who has butchered hundreds, men, women

date of Oct. 4, 1784, in an abstract of children, seven of which were boys.⁴ the Parish Register of Montreal, in the As the *Dictionnaire Genealogique* does not possession of the Abbé Verreau of that mention all the children, the subject of city (the original register we have not this sketch was undoubtedly one of those seen), gives the age as 72 years, which not mentioned in that work. We feel would correspond with Gov. Tryon's confident that the Louis-Luc de la Corne statment in 1777. St. Luc's mother, in born in 1703, was not the leader of applying for a pension after his father's Burgoyne's Indiana. [¹F. U. 194.] death, represented that she had twelve

and children, of our Colonies, in the late war, in the most inhuman manner; who has been a head and leader of the Canadians, and all the Indians, now finding, that notwithstanding all his wiles and falsehoods," &c., &c.³² That St. Luc was a man of education his letter to Burgoyne, and his journal of the voyage of the *Auguste*, clearly indicate; while the offices, civil and military, held by him, prove that he had high standing in Canada. Le Moine says of him—"Being a man of rank, talent and courage, high civil and military honors were soon within his reach."³³ His modes of warfare show that he was brutal and sanguinary; and his unrelenting hostility to the Americans, though so recent a subject of the British king himself, manifests the most bitter vindictiveness. He was grasping, avaricious and unprincipled; for Mrs. Johnson, of Charlestown, N. H., who, with her family, was captured by the Indians in the summer of 1754, and retained in Canada till the autumn of 1757, relates, in the narrative of her captivity, that St. Luc defrauded her out of four hundred and thirty-eight dollars, and withheld from her an order for seven hundred livres more.³⁴ The very fact of his cheerfully leading savages denotes that he himself was at heart but little better than they. Bancroft characterizes him, as "a man who joined the reflective malice of civilization to the remorseless cruelty of the savage."³⁵ [F. T. 309, 310: L. N. 167. ³⁶F. U. 202. ³⁷I. S. 32. ³⁸I. S. 112, 132: L. M. M. 31. ³⁹I. S. 183, 213. ⁴⁰I. S. 345, 500, 914. ⁴¹I. S. 629. ⁴²I. S. 750, 817, 850. ⁴³G. Y. Y. 118. ⁴⁴I. S. 1086. ⁴⁵I. P. 590: C. B. 269: G. Y. Y. 119. ⁴⁶J. F. ⁴⁷K. D. 135: E. 924, 925. ⁴⁸M. O. 337. ⁴⁹K. Y. 51-53: E. 973, 1095, 1096, 1098. ⁵⁰E. 973, 1342. ⁵¹K. Y., 81. ⁵²K. Y. 88. ⁵³H. X. 104:

F. 156. ²⁰F. 1515, ²¹K. Y. 101: F. 1482²: H. 609, 769.
²²K. Y. 143. ²³A. K. 326. ²⁴I. R. 707. ²⁵G. V. 146: B.
 N. 49, 50. ²⁶M. H. 308-312. ²⁷M. I. 324. ²⁸F. H. 124.
²⁹A. V. 185. ³⁰K. A. 14. ³¹L. N. 167: L. O: F. T: A.
 X. 142. ³²E. 973, 1095. ³³G. Y. Y. 117. ³⁴D. E. 218.
³⁵A. J. 365.]

NO. 18.

LIEUT., AFTERWARDS ADMIRAL, JOHN SCHANK.

John Schank was descended from a very ancient family in Mid Lothian, a branch of which settled at Kinghorn, in Fifeshire, Scotland, and got lands there in the reign of Robert Bruce, in 1319. He was the son of Alexander Schank of Castlereg, Fifeshire, by his wife, Mary, daughter of John Burnet, minister at Moniemusk, Aberdeenshire, and was born about the year 1740. He went to sea in the merchant service at an early age; and in 1757 served for the first time on a man of war, the *Elizabeth*, of 74 guns, commanded by Sir Hugh Palliser. He subsequently sailed in the frigate *Emerald* under Capt., afterwards Sir Charles Douglas, with whom he went to the North Cape of Lapland, in 1768, to observe the transit of Venus. After his return he gallantly saved the life of Mr. Whitworth, a son of Sir Charles, and brother of Lord Whitworth, who was upset in a small boat in Portsmouth harbor, and afterwards lost in America while serving under Lord Howe. About 1771 he joined the *Princess Amelia*, of 80 guns, then fitting for the flag of Sir George B. Rodney,

who had recently been appointed to the command on the Jamaica station. He was subsequently a midshipman for some time on the *Barfleur*, of 98 guns, in which he came to America, where he met Earl Percy, afterwards the Duke of Northumberland, in conversation with whom he first suggested the idea of centreboard boats. In illustration of his idea he built a boat, in 1774, for Lord Percy, then in Boston; and it realized all his expectations. He afterwards very greatly and very successfully developed this invention.'

The following letter from Schank to Gen. Haldimand shows the writer's whereabouts and desire to get on, in the autumn of 1775.

"On Board the *Preston* in Boston Harbour

"*October the 8th, 1775.*

"SIR: I Beg the liberty of your excusing the liberty I have taken in writing you, as also in troubling you with a list of the killed and wounded: I beg you'll be so good as to mention me to Sir Hugh Palliser with whom I sail'd last War (and as Promotions are more frequent than usuall I may get a commission soon. Please to present my compliments to Capt. Prim and excuse the liberty of me who is with

"Respect Your

"Most obed't

"Humble servant

"JOHN SCHANK."

"To Gen. Haldimand."

After eighteen years laborious service in subordinate positions, in which he conspicuously distinguished himself, he was

promoted to a lieutenancy in June, 1776, and appointed to the command of the *Canceaux*, an armed schooner of ten guns, and then employed on the River St. Lawrence. This command he retained for a considerable time, at least in name, for almost immediately after assuming it, being recommended by Admiral Vandeput, under whom he had served in India, as a proper person to fit out a flotilla, he was appointed superintendent of the naval department at St. Johns.¹ Sir Guy Carleton thus wrote to Gen. Burgoyne about this officer :—

“*QUEBEC, 26th July, 1776.*

“ * * Timber and materials compleat for another vessel is going to be sent up to you from hence, with all possible expedition. A Lt. Shanks is to have the inspecting of the building of it, and afterwards to command it on the Lake, subject, however, to the command of Captain Pringle, and Major-Gen. Phillips, in like manner as the officers on that service. Mr. Shanks promises and will struggle hard to have his vessel the first upon the Lake.”²

Schank, evidently, fulfilled the promise in Carleton's letter, as the building of the ship *Inflexible* of over 300 tons, mounting eighteen 12 pdrs., which he afterwards commanded and fought, was a marked feat of celerity. She was originally put on the stocks at Quebec where her floors were all laid, and some of her timbers put in. Then she was taken apart and carried up the St. Lawrence to Chambly, and from there to St. John's where she was set up again and finished. Her keel was laid the second time on the morning of Sept. 2d, 1776, and by sunset on that day, not only was she as far advanced in her

new location as she had been at Quebec, but a considerable quantity of fresh timber was also got out and formed into futtocks, top timbers, beams, planks, &c.; as it was no uncommon thing for trees, growing at dawn of day, to form parts of the ship before night. Twenty-eight days from laying the keel, being Sept. 30th, the *Inflexible* was launched; and, in the evening of Oct. 1st, she sailed completely manned, victualled, and equipped for service. Ten days later she formed part of the fleet which engaged and beat Gen. Arnold's flotilla on Lake Champlain, so that Lieut. Schank's ship building exploit consisted in constructing a ship in six weeks from the time of his laying her keel to the time he fought her successfully against the enemy. One of the most remarkable parts of this feat was that there were only sixteen ship-wrights to build her, one of whom, on the third day, was so badly cut with an adze as to be of little service.*

All of Lieut. Schank's endeavours, however, were not equally successful, for Anburey says, in writing from Montreal,—“There are two schooners here, the *Carleton* and *Maria*, which were built in England upon a construction to take to pieces, in order to be transported across a carrying-place of about two miles. After their sailing from England to the mouth of the rapids, which prevented their proceeding up to St. John's, rather than lose the time of taking them to pieces, and re-constructing them, Lieutenant Schank, of the navy, an ingenious officer, informed General Carleton, that they might be conveyed upon a cradle over land to St. John's entire, provided there was a good road made for them. The General acquiesced in this gentleman's proposal, and the whole army were employed in making a road. One of the vessels was

near half a mile on it, by means of cables fixed to windlasses every twenty yards ; but the General perceiving this mode of conveyance would take up more time than the other, gave orders to have the schooners taken to pieces and rebuilt, which was accomplished in as short a space of time as they had been creeping that small distance upon land."⁴

His services, however, were not solely confined to the naval department : he attended the army under Gen. Burgoyne⁵, and became not only the inventor, but the constructor of several floating bridges, by the assistance of which its progress was materially aided ; and without which it would have been, in all probability, totally impeded much sooner than it really was. They were so constructed as to be capable of navigating themselves ; and were not only absolutely equipped with masts and sails for that purpose, but having been built at the distance of seventy miles from Crown Point, were actually conveyed thither without difficulty for the purpose of forming a bridge at that place. These floating bridges, like the army intended to pass over them, fell into the hands of the Americans.⁶

Besides fitting out and equipping armaments on the great lakes, Lieut. Schank had the direction of four dock yards at the same time, located at St. John's, Quebec, Carleton Island, and Detroit. His mechanical skill and energy were most creditably united to a thoroughly economical expenditure of the public money ; a trait deserving the highest praise at a time when pelf and peculation were the well nigh invariable characteristics of British disbursing officers. He was, practically, the civil commander-in-chief, as he discharged all the conjunct

duties of the Admiralty and Navy Boards ; and with such conspicuous energy and merit as to elicit the highest encomiums from the admiral commanding on that station, as well as the governor general of Canada and military commander-in-chief.*

Though he rendered such laborious and meritorious service in America, his field of action rather retarded his promotion, and we find Gen. Haldimand writing to Lord George Germaine as follows :—

QUEBEC, 24th March, 1779.

“ MY LORD.

“ The great Promotions in point of rank throughout the Navy and the great prospect of Prize Money when Hostilities were commenced against France, brought me numerous applications from the several sea officers serving on the Lakes, for my Permission to return into their own line of Duty, and I have complied with those applications as far as in every degree consistent with the Naval Defence of this Province, insomuch that I have now only Two Sea Officers left under my Command ; they are both Gentlemen of great merit and long services. Lieut. John Schank distinguished himself, in 1776 in the construction of the Naval Armament on Lake Champlain, and in its successful operations, has since been very actively employed as Senior Naval Officer and Commissioner on the Lakes Ontario and Erie.

“ Lieut. Wm. Chambers commands on Lake Champlain. * *

“ I hope your Lordship will not think me troublesome if I request your interest to obtain for these Gentlemen the Rank of Master and Commander which will still add to the Authority they receive from me, and with which these gentlemen have

promised to serve with cheerfulness in their present station during the present War and contest, without the chance of sharing any part of the numerous prizes we hope their Brother Officers will become masters of." ⁶

April 8, 1780, after more than a year's delay, the desired commissions promoting Schank and Chambers to be masters and commanders in the navy, were forwarded from the Admiralty to Gen. Haldimand⁷; although the former had held that position by local appointment for about two years.⁸

Capt. Schank was promoted to the grade of post-captain Aug. 15, 1783.¹ He became a member of the Board of Transport Service Sept. 25, 1793⁹; and, in 1794, he was appointed principal agent of transports composing a part of the formidable expedition to the West Indies under Sir John Jervis, afterwards Earl of St. Vincent, and Gen. Sir Charles Grey, afterwards Lord Grey de Howick; the duties of which arduous post he discharged with singular fidelity and ability. When the British troops were compelled to quit Flanders and retire into Holland, whither they were followed by the armies of the French Convention, Capt. Schank was appointed superintendent of all transports or vessels employed in the various services of conveying either troops, stores, or property, from one country to the other. When the French acquisition of coast caused the British to apprehend an invasion of their own country, a new and formidable system of defence was, by the orders of the Board of Admiralty, perfected, arranged, and completely carried into execution under the direction of Capt. Schank, to whom was confided the defence of the whole coast from Portsmouth to Berwick upon Tweed. This extensive and

important command was a signal tribute to his ability ; and the manner of its discharge gave him a further claim on the gratitude of his country.' He was again appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Transport Service on its reorganization, Dec. 13, 1798, which position he held until 1802, when an ophthalmic complaint compelled his retirement from active duty.

After more than forty years service he obtained his flag, being promoted to rear-admiral of the Blue Nov. 9, 1805.¹⁰ His subsequent promotions were as follows :—rear-admiral of the White April 28, 1808¹¹ ; rear-admiral of the Red Oct. 25, 1809¹² ; vice-admiral of the Blue July 31, 1810¹³ ; vice-admiral of the White Dec. 4, 1813¹⁴ ; vice-admiral of the Red June 4, 1814¹⁵ ; and admiral of the Blue July 19, 1821.¹⁶

He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was one of the original members of the Society for improving Naval Architecture. Some of the papers published by this latter society were his ; and in 1793 he published " A Sketch of two Boats, and a Cutter with sliding keels," folio. Though a gallant officer, yet his mechanical and engineering genius was his distinguishing characteristic. In his earlier years he invented a cot, so arranged by means of pulleys and castors that the occupant could raise or lower it, or change its location at will. Later in life, besides his sliding keels already adverted to, he seems " to have been the inventor of gunboats with movable sides, for firing guns in any direction. He likewise fitted the Wolverine sloop with the inclined plane in her gun carriages, which is justly considered as the greatest modern invention in gunnery."¹⁷

The subject of this sketch married, first, Mrs. FitzGerald, widow of Gen. FitzGerald; and, second, Miss Margaret Grant, sister of the late Master of the Rolls, Sir William Grant. By his first wife he left one daughter, Margaret, who married Capt. John Wight of the royal navy, afterwards a vice-admiral of the White. This daughter died in 1812, leaving three sons and a daughter. Her third and surviving son, John Mackellar Skeene Grieve Wight, assumed by royal license dated June 13, 1840, the surname and arms of Schank, in lieu of his patronymic, Wight, and succeeded to the Schank ancestral estate of Barton House.

Admiral Schank died March 6, 1823, at Barton House, Dawlish, in Devonshire, in the 83d year of his age.¹⁷ [S. 392-402: I. B. 324-332: E. P. P. 81: B. M. 107-112. *F. J. 228. 3F. B. 85. 4O. 133. 5K. M. 154. 6F. H. 218, 219. 7F. I. 97. 8F. L. 12. 9A. T. 111, *et post.* 10E. D. 1232. 11E. E. 551. 12E. F. 1229. 13E. H. 182. 14E. I. 697. 15E. J. 695. 16E. O. 174. 17B. T. 1067.]

NO. 19.

MAJOR JEREMIAH FRENCH.

Jeremiah French was commissioned as ensign of the 59th Foot March 4, 1760; as lieutenant Feb. 13, 1762; as captain of the 29th Foot Dec. 7, 1764; as major therein July 26, 1773; and as lieut.-colonel of the 31st Foot Sept. 13, 1777.¹ Both the 29th and 31st Regts. went to Canada in the

spring of 1776 to reinforce Gen. Carleton, and both remained in that province throughout the Revolutionary War, save only their flank companies, which formed a part of the light-brigade on Burgoyne's expedition. Lieut.-Colonel French served in Canada throughout the war, and in June, 1776, had command of the town of Montreal.* He became a colonel in the army Nov. 20, 1782, and his name appears in the Army Lists for the last time in 1788.¹ He died at Parsons-Town, King's County, Ireland, in 1819, in his 89th year.³ [‘B. H. *F. B. 20. 3R. 461.]

NO. 20.

CAPT. LITTLEJOHN.

All we have been able to glean in regard to Mr. [or Captain, so called,] Littlejohn, is that he subsequently came to grief, as appears by a letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Gen. Phillips, dated June 17, 1777, in which, after directing that Littlejohn be immediately suspended, Sir Guy goes on to say, “that you will order with respect to him what further you shall think necessary to oblige him to account for the money he has been entrusted with. It was never,” Sir Guy adds, “with my approbation nor do I know by what means any came into his hands; I must beg you will find a proper person to replace Mr. Littlejohn.” [F. B. 530.]

NO. 21.

BRIG. GEN. ALLAN MACLEAN.

Allan Maclean was the third son of Donald, the fifth Maclean of Torloisk, in the west of Scotland, by his wife Mary, a daughter of Campbell of Sutherland. Allan began his military career in the service of Holland, the Scotch Brigade to which he belonged, being sometimes called the Dutch Brigade, because it was in the pay of the States General.¹ At the siege of Bergen-op zoom, in 1747, a portion of the Scotch Brigade cut its way with great loss through the French, who had forced an entrance into the streets of the town, but Lieuts. Francis Maclean and Allan Maclean of that brigade, were taken prisoners and carried before Gen. Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-zoom."²

Allan Maclean subsequently entered the British service, and, on January 8th, 1756, became a lieutenant in the 4th Battalion of the 62d (afterwards the 60th), or Royal American Regiment,³ of which he was for sometime adjutant. He was present at Abercromby's unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga, July 8th, 1758, where he was severely wounded.⁴ January 16th, 1759, he was commissioned as captain of an Independent Company then stationed at New York⁵; and with this company he was present at the action preceding the surrender of Niagara, where he was again dangerously wounded. After

active fighting in Canada and on the northern frontier had ceased, Capt. Maclean returned to Great Britain, where the government shortly after granted him "letters of service" for embodying a battalion of six hundred men, with the privilege of nominating its complement of officers.¹ This battalion, which was numbered the 114th Foot, and known as the Royal Highland Volunteers, and of which he was appointed major commandant October 18th, 1761², saw no active service; and from its ranks recruits were drawn for the Highland regiments in America and Germany.³ It was reduced at the peace of 1763, when Major Maclean went upon half-pay. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army May 25th, 1772⁴; and early in 1775 he devised a colonization scheme which brought him to America, landing in New York the latter part of May in that year.⁵ He next visited Boston, where, on the 13th of June, he received from Gen. Gage, the British commander-in-chief in America, power to raise a battalion of provincials for the King's service; this being the inception of what subsequently became the Royal Highland Emigrants.⁷ His intentions getting wind⁸ he hastened back to New York where he was arrested by order of Congress, but he obtained his release by denying that he was interfering in the dispute between the colonies and the mother country.⁹ Leaving New York he repaired to Col. Guy Johnson on the Mohawk, and thence proceeded to Oswego, and so to Canada, where under the auspices of Gen. Carleton, he at once set about organizing his corps.¹⁰

¹ The Royal Warrant and Articles of Association giving the full details of Col. Maclean's colonization scheme, can be found in vol. viii, of Documents, relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York pp. 562-564.

The Royal Highland Emigrants consisted of two battalions, and the commander-in-chief in America was colonel *ex officio*. Allàn Maclean was appointed lieut.-colonel commandant of the First Battalion, which was to be raised from the Highland emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42d Foot, or Black Watch, afterwards the Royal Highland Regiment, and from Montgomery's and Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in that country after the peace of 1763. Capt. John Small, formerly of the 42d, and then of the 21st Foot, was appointed major commandant of the Second Battalion, which was to be completed in Nova Scotia from emigrants and discharged Highland soldiers, and where it afterwards served under Brig.-Gen. Francis Maclean, who, when a lieutenant in the Dutch service, was taken prisoner at Bergen-op-zoom, in 1747, with the subject of this sketch. The establishment of each battalion was seven hundred and fifty men, with officers in proportion, until Dec. 25, 1780, when the establishment of the First Battalion became twelve companies, each consisting of three sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six privates, including three contingent men, with two fifers for the Grenadier company, and the usual commissioned and staff officers.²² Great inducements were offered for recruits, as will be seen by the following circular, issued in 1775 over Col. Maclean's own signature, and which corresponds with the terms of the Royal warrant conferred on him in the colonization scheme.

"Conditions to be given to such soldiers as will engage in the Royal Highland Emigrants.

"They are to engage during the present trouble in America only. Each soldier is to have two hundred acres of land in

any Province in North America he shall think proper, the King to pay the Patent fees, Secretary's fees, and Surveyor General's; besides twenty years free of quit rent; each married man gets fifty acres for his wife, and fifty for each child on the same terms. And as a gratuity, besides the above great terms, one guinea levy money.

"ALLAN MACLEAN,

"Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant."

According to Henry, a private in Smith's Riflemen, who was taken prisoner in the American assault on Quebec, the ranks of the Royal Highland Emigrants were likewise attempted to be recruited by other and more questionable means. In his account of Arnold's Campaign against Quebec, Henry writes,—“January 4th, [1776] or the next day, we were visited by Colonel Maclean, an old man, attended by other officers, for a peculiar purpose, that is, to ascertain who among us were born in Europe. We had many Irishmen, and some Englishmen. The question was put to each; those who admitted a British birth, were told they must serve his majesty in Colonel Maclean's regiment, a new corps called the *emigrants*. Our poor fellows, under the fearful penalty of being carried to Britain, there to be tried for treason, were compelled by necessity, and many of them did enlist.”¹⁴ Joseph Ware, who likewise accompanied Arnold through the wilderness, and was also taken at the assault upon Quebec, has given us the names of 94 of his fellow prisoners who “listed in the King's service;” the majority, if not all of whom, doubtless entered the Emigrants as the result of Col. Maclean's peculiar argument.¹⁵ The value of such methods of recruiting is shown by

a British officer who wrote in his Journal during the same siege, under date of Feb. 16, 1776, as follows: "This morning all the prisoners that had entered into Colonel McLean's corps (in consequence of the frequent desertion among them) were again sent to gaol, a circumstance which has seemingly given great satisfaction to all the other members of the garrison, as this plan is the only effectual one that can be devised to frustrate their traitorous designs."¹⁶

Quebec would undoubtedly have fallen into Gen. Arnold's hands when he suddenly appeared before it, in November, 1775, had not Col. Maclean, hearing of the American advance, precipitately thrown himself with a part of his corps into the city.¹⁷ During the siege by Montgomery and Arnold, the Royal Highland Emigrants took an active part in resisting the invaders. Gen. Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief, being occupied in preparations for the general defence of the colony, the immediate defence of the town devolved upon Lieut.-Col. Maclean who conducted it with much ability, for which he was honored with the royal approbation.¹⁸ During the siege he suffered an injury to his leg whereby he lost the use of it in a great measure for the rest of his life.¹⁹ After the American retreat from Canada the First Battalion of the Emigrants remained in the province during the war, and was principally employed in small but harassing enterprises.²⁰ Lieut.-Col. Maclean was appointed adjutant-general of the army in Canada May 11, 1776, a position he continued to hold till his appointment as a brigadier-general, June 6, 1777, when he was placed in command at Montreal.²¹ On the 23d of the following September he was ordered, with St. Leger's force and

the 31st Regt., to the relief of Gen. Powell at Ticonderoga, which post was being threatened by the Americans. That service was to be of short duration, and he was to send forward St. Leger's force to Burgoyne, and return with the 31st, when Ticonderoga had been relieved. As dangers thickened round Burgoyne's command, Maclean, on the 20th of October, was ordered with the 31st Regt. and his own battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants, to Chimney Point, to fortify there, to preserve communication with Ticonderoga; and there he remained until the latter post was abandoned the next month, when he was ordered to Quebec.²²

As Lieut.-Col. Maclean had been promised rank and establishment for his corps, which had not been conferred, he left Quebec July 27, 1776, for England, and arrived in London on the 2d of the following September, in order to get the promises redeemed, if possible.²³ He returned to Canada the following spring, arriving at Quebec May 28, 1777, in his Majesty's ship *Tartar*.²⁴ His mission was unsuccessful, and it was not till nearly two years later that he accomplished his purpose. In 1778 he accompanied Sir Guy Carleton to England²⁵, and made a personal, and this time a successful appeal to the king in behalf of the regiment, which was then received into the regular British army²⁶, and numbered as the 84th Foot. His commission as lieut.-colonel of the 84th dates from June 12, 1775²⁷, that being within a day of the date of his appointment by Gen. Gage.

The *London Chronicle* of Oct. 1-3, 1778, informs us that "Yesterday" (Thursday, Oct. 1) "the Quebec merchants

gave an elegant entertainment at the London Tavern to Sir Guy Carleton, General Maclean, and Peter Livius, Esq., Chief Justice of that Province, lately arrived from thence, as a mark of their respect for gentlemen who behaved so gallantly in defence of the city of Quebec when besieged by the rebels in 1775." Gen. Maclean sailed from Spithead, with his family, on his return to Canada, May 1, 1779, and arrived at Quebec on the 16th of the following August.⁷

He became a colonel in the army Nov. 17, 1780³, and in the winter of 1782 he had command of the posts from Oswegatchie to Michilimackinac.⁸ About this time he had some difficulty with the German Major-General Riedesel, in which Gen. Haldimand seems to have sympathized with the latter, as he speaks of Maclean's "bad conduct," and writes to Riedesel, under date of Dec. 19, 1782, as follows:—"I believe, also, that his majesty has too good an opinion of my honor, than to pay no attention to the reports I have sent him; and I hope, therefore, that Mr. McLean's true character will then be found out." Again, under date of Jan. 13, 1783, Haldimand wrote to Riedesel in this wise:—"McLean, inflated with arrogance, will omit nothing to gain adherents; and, if the least opportunity is given him, will soon consider himself a man of importance. I should stir him up myself if he would stay here; but I will communicate to you some information showing you his character in a yet different light."⁹

Soon after the peace of 1783, the 84th was reduced and the officers went upon half-pay³, when General Maclean retired from the service. He married Janet, daughter of Donald Maclean of the house of Brolas, and sister of General Sir Fitz-

roy Maclean, of Maclean, and died in London in March, 1797, without issue. "Few men of his day," says the historian of the Clan Maclean, "were more universally respected than General Allan Maclean; pre-eminently distinguished for the high attributes of the brave soldier and the good man, he has left a name which will long continue to be spoken of with the respect so justly due to the memory of the good and the brave."¹

Allan Maclean of Torloisk, whose life has just been sketched, has been confused by some writers—notably by Major-General Stewart, in his *Sketches of the Highlanders*, II, 78, 82; by Browne, who has borrowed very largely from Stewart, in his *History of the Highlands and the Highland Clans*, IV, 242 note and 244; by Dr. O'Callaghan, in his note to vol. VIII, 363, of *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*; and by Gen. de Peyster, in *Wilson's Orderly Book*, p. 9, note,—with Allan Maclean of Brolas, who succeeded to a baronetcy in October, 1750. This latter officer embraced a military life in his youth, and served in different parts of the globe. The first notice of his military career is as captain under the Earl of Drumlanrig in the service of Holland. July 16th, 1757, he became a captain in Montgomery's Highlanders (known also, at different times as the First Highland Battalion, the 62d Foot,² and the 77th Foot), and major in the 119th Foot,

1. As both Montgomery's Highlanders and the Royal American Regiment, are spoken of in the above note as the 62d, a few words of explanation may not be amiss.

The regiment popularly called Montgomery's Highlanders, was raised among the Highland clans of Scotland by Archibald Montgomery, whose commission as lieutenant-colonel commandant bore

date Jan. 4, 1757. Not being numbered it was designated in the Army List of 1757, as the First Highland Battalion. In the first edition of the Army List of 1758 it was numbered as the 62d Foot, but, in a subsequent edition for that year, its number was changed to the 77th, which designation it retained until it was disbanded shortly after the peace of 1763.

or the Prince's Own, June 25th, 1762. His corps being reduced at the peace of 1763, he went upon half-pay; and though he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, May 25th, 1772, he never returned to active service, but remained on half-pay as major of the late 119th, until his death December 10th, 1783. Sir Allan Maclean married Anna, daughter of Hector Maclean of Coll, by whom he had three daughters and a son; but as the latter died in childhood, he was succeeded in the baronetcy by a collateral branch.³⁰ [H. W. 351-356. ¹L. G. 78. ²B. H. ³H. E. 176. ⁴B. J. 368, note. ⁵C. C. 426: I. R. 562. *et post*, 583. ⁶F. E. 124. ⁷I. R. 589. ⁸F. 290. ⁹K. U. 262. ¹⁰L. G. 209. ¹¹F. E. 166. ¹²E. 4. ¹³F. R. 136. ¹⁴I. I. 133. ¹⁵J. Z. 49. ¹⁶L. G. 210. ¹⁷H. 1005: F. B. 188. ¹⁸F. H. 258. ¹⁹L. G. 211. ²⁰F. E. 1, 77: F. C. 129. ²¹F. C. 23, 24, 91, 98, 129: F. E. 85, 89. ²²I. 626. ²³J. J. ²⁴J. O. ²⁵H. J. 278, 339. ²⁶J. P. ²⁷F. E. 208. ²⁸K. N. 148, 149, 154. ²⁹B. H.: H. W. 207, 209: I. Z. App. 348, 349.]

The Royal American Regiment was raised in 1756, and was numbered as the 62d Foot; but in 1758 its number was changed to the 60th, and so it now remains. It originally had four battalions, but its 3d and 4th were disbanded at the peace of 1763. Third and fourth battalions were added in 1778, and reduced in 1783. The number of battalions was raised to ten during the war of 1804-15, eight of which were reduced in 1817-18. The present 3d and 4th Battalions were raised in 1855-58. The designation of the 60th, as "The Royal American Regiment," gave place to "The Duke of York's Own Rifle Corps," in the Army

List of 1825, and that, in turn, was superseded in the Army List of 1831, by "The King's Royal Rifle Corps," which latter name the 60th still retains.

The regiment on Burgoyne's expedition which was numbered as the 62d, was raised in 1755 as the 2d Battalion of the 4th, or King's Own Regiment of Foot. In 1758 it was detached from the 4th, and numbered as the 62d Foot, and this number it has ever since retained. Shortly after the peace of 1783 county designations were conferred, and the 62d has since then been also known as the Wiltshire Regiment. [B. H.: L. X. 337.]

NO. 22.

LIEUT. COLONEL NICHOLAS SUTHERLAND.

Nicholas Sutherland entered the British army June 14, 1755, as an ensign in the Royal Americans, or 62d, afterwards the 60th Foot. On the formation of the First Highland Battalion (Montgomery's Highlanders), subsequently numbered as the 62d, and then as the 77th, he was promoted to a lieutenancy therein Jan. 8, 1757, and to the captain-lieutenancy Sept. 15, 1758.¹ He served with his regiment in America, and took part in the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, which was crowned with success, as the fort surrendered in November of that year. His regiment formed part of the army under Gen. Amherst in 1759, and was detached against the Cherokees in 1760, in which operations Capt.-Lieut. Sutherland was wounded.² He was promoted to a captaincy Dec. 31, 1761,³ and served in the expedition against Martinico and Havana in 1762.⁴ At the peace of 1763 his regiment was reduced, and he went upon half-pay, but returned to active duty March 14, 1765, as captain in the 21st, or Royal North British Fusiliers, which regiment was then serving in America.⁵ Feb. 21, 1772, he sold out his captaincy and purchased the majority of his regiment⁶; and when it embarked for Canada in the spring of 1776 to reinforce Sir Guy Carleton, he accompanied it. Nov. 5, 1776, he became the lieutenant-colonel of the 47th Foot in place of Gen. Nesbit deceased, and this position he held until his death.⁷

He took part in Burgoyne's campaign and his name is attached to the Cambridge Parole. He seems, according to

Wilkinson, to have been an active instrumentality in bringing about the conclusion of the Saratoga Convention. The preliminary articles having been agreed upon between the opposing commanders, Burgoyne desired more time to settle "the several subordinate articles and regulations necessarily springing from these preliminaries, and requiring explanation and precision, between the parties, before a definitive treaty could be safely executed," and he therefore wrote to the American commander that he was willing "to appoint two officers immediately to meet two others from Major-general Gates, to propound, discuss, and settle those subordinate articles, in order that the treaty in due form may be executed as soon as possible." Lieut.-Col. Nicholas Sutherland, and Capt. James H. Craig of the 47th regiment, accordingly met Col. Wilkinson and Brig.-Gen. Whipple (of the militia), at a tent which had been pitched between the advance guards of the two armies just above Gen. Schuyler's saw mill, on the afternoon of Oct. 15th. Wilkinson says:—"Having produced and exchanged credentials, we proceeded to discuss the objects of our appointment, and at 8 o'clock P. M., we signed and exchanged articles of capitulation, and separated to report to our respective Generals. Having performed this service, and received the approbation of my superior, I proceeded to my daily duty, and on returning to headquarters about 11 o'clock P. M. found the following note from Captain Craig, to which I by order immediately returned the annexed answer.

"Camp at Saratoga, 15th Oct. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock.

"SIR.

"Upon reporting the proceedings of this evening to Lieutenant-general Burgoyne I was happy to receive his approbation

and ready concurrence in every article that has been agreed on between us; it however appears upon a retrospect of the treaty, that our zeal to complete it expeditiously has led us into the admission of a term in the title very different from his meaning, and that of the principal officers of this army, who have been consulted on this important occasion. We have, Sir, unguardedly called that a treaty of *capitulation*, which the army means only as a treaty of convention. With the single alteration of this word, Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland and myself will meet you at the stipulated time tomorrow morning with the fair copy signed by General Burgoyne.

“‘ I hope Sir, you will excuse my troubling you so late, but I thought it better than by any delay to prevent the speedy conclusion of a treaty which seems to be the wish of both parties, and which may prevent the further effusion of blood between us. I beg your immediate answer, and am

“‘ Sir. Your obedient and humble servant

“ ‘ James Henry Craig. Capt. 47th Reg.

“ ‘ Colonel Wilkinson ’

“ ‘ Colonel Wilkinson’s compliments to Captain Craig, Major-general Gates will admit the alteration required.

“ ‘ Oct. 15th,—at night.’

“ On the morning of the 16th, General Gates received another message from General Burgoyne, which excited a good deal of surprise and some indignation.”

It seems that Burgoyne had received information that some of Gates’ New York militia had left the preceding night, but the real motive of the British commander is thus explained by Gen. Riedesel.—“ The unexpected arrival of a provincial in

the night at once put a stop to the completion of the treaty. Indeed it came very near being entirely overthrown. This man stated that he had heard, through a third party, that General Clinton had captured the fortifications on the highlands, and had arrived with the troops and fleet at *Æsopus* eight days previous ; and further, that by this time, he was very likely at Albany. Burgoyne and a few other officers were so encouraged by this news, that they were greatly in favor of breaking the treaty. The council of war was accordingly once more called together, and the following questions laid before it :

“ 1st. Whether a treaty, which was about being completed by his deputies, and which he himself had promised to sign, could be broken ? Fourteen voices against eight decided this question in the negative.

“ 2d. Whether the report of a man, whom nobody knew, was sufficient in our present situation to justify our refusal of so advantageous a treaty ? The same number of votes decided this also in the negative. Nor could the decision have been different. Everything rested on mere hearsay. Had this man been sent by Clinton, or had he seen the army himself, the matter would have been very different.

“ 3d. Whether the common soldiers possessed sufficient spirit to defend the present position of the army to the last man ? All the officers of the left wing answered this in the affirmative. Those of the centre and *left* wings gave a similar answer, provided the enemy were attacked ; but the men were too well acquainted with their defective position to display the same bravery in case they were themselves attacked.

"Finally in order to gain time, it was resolved that Burgoyne should inform Gates by letter that he had been told by deserters and other reliable persons that he had sent a considerable corps of his army towards Albany, and that this being contrary to all faith, he (Burgoyne) could not give his signature without being convinced that the American army outnumbered his own by at least three or four to one; Gates could therefore name an officer of our army who might see for himself the number of the enemy; and should Burgoyne, after hearing this officer's report, be convinced of the superior numbers of the Americans, he would at once sign the treaty. General Gates received this letter with considerable *nonchalance*, but replied that he would give his word of honor that his army was just as strong now as it was previous to the treaty, and that having since then been reinforced by a few brigades, it certainly did outnumber ours four to one, and this, too, without counting those troops that were on the other side of the Hudson and at Half Moon. He also gave Burgoyne to understand what it meant to break his word of honor, and offered to show his whole army to Burgoyne after the latter had signed the treaty, when he would find that everything he had stated was true. He then closed by giving Burgoyne no longer than one hour in which to answer, stating that at the expiration of that time he would adopt the most stringent measures."⁵

The one hour referred to by Gen. Riedesel was extended to two hours, and Wilkinson says:—"The interview with General Burgoyne had been spun out to such length, that General Gates became uneasy, and I found a messenger waiting at our picket, to know what I had done. I reported

in brief, what had passed, and what was depending ; and took a station near the ruins of General Schuyler's house, where I walked, and expected with much anxiety, the result of General Burgoyne's consultation : the two hours had elapsed by a quarter, and an aid-de-camp from the General had been with me, to know how matters progressed ; soon after I perceived Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland opposite to me, and beckoned him to cross the creek ; on approaching me he observed, ' Well, our business will be knocked on the head after all.' I inquired why ? He said, ' the officers had got the devil in their heads and could not agree.' I replied gaily, ' I am sorry for it, as you will now not only lose your fusée ' (which he had owned thirty-five years, and had desired me to except from the surrendered arms and save for him, as she was a favorite piece), ' but your whole baggage.' He expressed much sorrow, but said he could not help it. At this moment I recollected the letter Captain Craig had written me the night before, and taking it from my pocket, I read it to the Colonel, who declared he had not been privy to it ; and added with evident anxiety, ' Will you give me that letter.' I answered in the negative, and observed, ' I should hold it as a testimony of the good faith of a British commander.' He hastily replied, ' Spare me that letter, Sir, and I pledge you my honour I will return it in fifteen minutes.' I penetrated the motive, and willingly handed it to him ; he sprang off with it, and directing his course to the British camp, ran as far as I could see him : in the meantime I received a peremptory message from the General to break off the treaty, if the convention was not immediately ratified. I informed him by the messenger, that I was doing the best I could for him, and would see him in

half an hour. Colonel Sutherland was punctual to his promise, and returned with Captain Craig, who delivered me the convention, signed by General Burgoyne, with an additional article specifically to include himself, which I engaged should be admitted by General Gates, and immediately sent to General Burgoyne. I then returned to head quarters after eight hours absence, and presented to General Gates the important document, that made the British army conventional prisoners to the United States."⁴

Exactly when Lieut.-Col. Sutherland returned to England has not been ascertained, but there is no doubt of its having been prior to February, 1779, as he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Sutherland Regiment of Fencible men in North Britain, Feb. 8, 1779.⁵ Gen. Burgoyne in the State of the Expedition, when reviewing the evidence taken before a committee of the House of Commons in May and June, 1779, uses this language :—"Of forty officers or more, belonging to the Convention troops, then in England, one only was proposed to be called on his Lordship's (Lord Germaine's) part, viz.: Lieutenant Colonel Sutherland, of the 47th regiment, upon parole from the Congress, and acting with a corps of the Fencible Men in North Britain ; but, upon further reflection, his Lordship thought proper to dispense with the attendance of this officer."⁶

Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland died July 18, 1781.⁷ [¹B. H. ²B. J. 246, 247. ³M. D. 222. ⁴M. T. 309-317. ⁵K. M. 183. ⁶B. N. 93. ⁷K. O.]

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